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T H E
M U S E S
T H R E N O D I E :

O R,

MIRTHFUL MOURNINGS on the Death of
MR G A L L.

Containing variety of pleasant Poetical Descriptions, Moral Instructions, Historical Narrations, and Divine Observations, with the most remarkable Antiquities of Scotland, especially of PERTH.

By M^r H. ADAMSON.

Printed at Edinburgh in King JAMES's College,
By George Anderson, 1638.

To this new Edition are added explanatory Notes and Observations:
King James's Charter of Confirmation: An Account of Gowrie's Conspiracy: A List of the Magistrates of Perth, with Notes: A List of the Subscribers of a free Gift for building the new Bridge: And, an Account of the two remarkable Inundations, which endangered the town of Perth, in 1210 and 1621, &c.

Compiled from authentic Records,

By J A M E S C A N T.

VOL. I.

P E R T H:

Printed by GEORGE JOHNSTON for the EDITOR, and
ROBERT MORISON, Bookseller.

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Mr Adamson addressed his Poems thus,

TO

HIS NATIVE TOWN OF

P E R T H

THE LORD PROVOST, BAILIES

AND COUNCIL THEREOF;

HIS WORTHY PATRONS:

Wishing them all happiness here and hence,

Dedicateth these his RECREATIONS,

Their devoted Servant,

HENRY ADAMSON,

Student in Divine and Human Learning.

In the list of Magistrates for the year 1637, the reader will see
the persons names who were addressed in this dedication.

The Editor begs leave to follow the example of the Author
and to inscribe this Edition

UNTO

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM STEWART,
Esq;

LORD PROVOST, SHERIFF AND CORONER.

WILLIAM ALISON DEAN OF GUILD.

HENRY FYFFE,

JOHN CAW,

PATRICK STEWART

HENRY MABEN.

BAILIES,

JOHN RICHARDSON Junr. TREASURER.

And to the REMANENT MEMBERS of the
TOWN COUNCIL,

As a Testimony of RESPECT and
GRATITUDE

From their most Obedient

and most Humble Servant,

JAMES CANT.

PERTH, 1st August 1774.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two following poems were composed by a citizen of Perth, a gentleman of considerable reputation, for wit and learning; they have been erroneously called, and known by the name of GALL'S GABIONS.

The first contains a ludicrous and hudibrastic description of the furniture of Mr George Ruthven's closet, which that venerable old gentleman used to call his *Gabions*, being a collection of many curiosities humorously described by our facetious poet. It is beyond the reach of ordinary capacities, therefore it is seldom taken notice of by common readers.

The next poem is an elegiac lamentation on the death of Mr John Gall, a young gentleman, handsome, facetious and learned.

The poet keeps himself behind the curtain, and introduces Ruthven and Gall upon the stage, who are the only speakers, who give an account of the antiquities of Perth and its inventions. Gall appears throughout the poem, to be the principal person; therefore custom has falsely given the name of *Gall's Gabions* to both poems.

The attentive reader will soon perceive that the first poem which is short, ought to be called RUTHVEN'S GABIONS, if a name must be given to it, and it has

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no manner of connexion with the second, where *Gall* appears.

The meaning of the word *Gabien*, as it is used in the poem, is not to be sought for in any dictionary; it was of venerable old gentleman Mr *Ruthven*'s own coining, and was well enough understood among his select friends, mean no thing else but the miscellaneous curiosities in his closet, humorously described in the poem.

We perceive, that the warmest friendship subsisted among this triumvirate of literati.

Mr George Ruthven was descended from the noble family of that name. He was a physician and surgeon in Perth. The minister Mr John Malcom, and the kirk session were alarmed with a report, that the Glengore, as it was then called, now the French disease, was got into the town. The session interrogated Mr Ruthven, who was also a member of the session, concerning the truth of this report, who assured them that none of his patients were afflicted with that malady, neither did he know that it was in the town. The people those days were as much afraid of that distemper, as of the plague, and treated those who were afflicted with it, after the same manner; for they shut them up in lazarettos, and avoided their company, as infectious.

Mr Ruthven was about ninety-two years of age, when the two poems were published at the request of our celebrated *William Drummond* of Hawthorndean. He was about thirteen

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all on rs old at the reformation, and remembered the magnificent
igious houses with their stately steeples, and was capable
in t lament their ruin in 1559 by the fury of the populace,
of u ich was discountenanced by *Knox*, who regretted the deso-
and ion of those noble buildings.

After the murder of the young earl of Gowrie and his
nds, other, (5th of August 1600) Mr Rathven had got his
in b lace made up with the king in the following year, there-
amoe re the death of his noble chief is but slightly touched in
e poem.

fami Mr *John Gall* younger (his father being of the same name)
Perth as a merchant, well educated, of sweet dispositions and
a we regnant wit, and much esteemed. His premature death of
en c consumption, occasioned the following elegiac and descrip-
The ve poem. The representative of those *Galls* was John Gall
of t of Kinloch, Esq; whose son Patrick, an officer in the army,
l the died lately unmarried. The *Galls* in the Muirton are said
y, ne to be of the same family. Walter Keir merchant, married
ple daughter of the house of Kinloch and has issue. *John*,
of th physician in Cornwall, *Patrick* of Kinmonth, justice of the
er th peace, and *Margaret*, married to William Small of Kindro-
avoi an, writer in Perth.

en th *Henry Adamson*, the author of the two poems was educated
orate for the pulpit, and appears to have been a gentleman of con-
irtee siderable abilities, a good classical scholar, he wrote some
year Latin poems above mediocrity. His relations were of con-
siderable rank among the citizens of Perth, he was the son
of

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of James Adamson, who was dean of guild in 1600, when Gowrie was murdered, and was provost in 1610 and 1611. Our poet died unmarried in the year after the poems were published. He was known to and esteemed by Drummond of Hawthorndean, the poet laureat of that age. Mr Adamson was importuned by his friends to publish the two poems; he resisted their solicitations; but the request of his friend Drummond at last prevailed, of which we are informed by the following address to the reader, prefixed to the first edition.

“ Courteous Reader,

“ It is not amiss that thou be a little informed concerning the persons of the defunct (Mr Gall) and the mourner (Mr Ruthven.) The poet wrote this for his own exercise, and the recreation of his friends, and this piece, though accomplished to the great contentment of many that read and heard it, yet could not the author be induced to let it thole the press, till the importunity of many learned men urged him unto it: and the last brashe (effort) was made by a letter of the prime poet of our kingdom, whereof this is the just copy.

“ To my worthy friend Mr HENRY ADAMSON.

“ SIR,

“ These papers of your mournings on *Mr Gall*, appear unto me as *Alcibiadis Sileni*, which ridiculously look with the faces of *Sphinges*, *Chimæras*, *Centaurs*, on their outsidess;

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but inwardlie containe rare artifice, and rich jewels of all sorts, for the delight and weal of man. They may deservedlie bear the word, *non intus ut extra*. Your two champions, noble zanys (Buffoons) discover to us many of the antiquities of this country, more of your ancient town of Perth, setting downe her situation, founders, her huge colosse or bridge, walls, fousies, aqueducts, fortifications, temples, monasteries and many other singularities. Happie hath *Perth* been in such a citizen, not so other townes of this kingdome, by want of so diligent a searcher and preserver of their fame from oblivion. Some Muses, nelther to themselves nor to others, do good, nor delighting nor instructing. Yours perform both, and longer to conceal them, will be, to wrong your *Perth* of her due honours, who deserveth no less of you than that she should be thus blazoned and registrate to posterity, and to defraud yourself of a monument, which, after you have left this transitory world, shall keep your name and memory to after times. This shall be preserved by the towne of *Perth*, for her own sake first, and after for yours; for to her it hath been no little glory, that she hath brought forth such a citizen, so eminent in love to her, so dear to the Muses.

W. D.:

‘ Edinburgh 12th July 1637.

The above letter was the strongest motive with our author for allowing the poems to be printed, which were published the next year, and the year after (1639) he died much lamented.

Two

* I N T R O D U C T I O N *

Two other gentlemen of the name of Adamson were distinguished in the literary world. Patrick and John.

Patrick was born in Perth, A. D. 1536, and received a liberal education, after he had finished his studies at the grammar-school of Perth, he was sent to the university of St. Andrews where his fame blazed abroad. He was endowed with quick parts and a tenacious memory, after he had finished his education at the university with honour and applause he went to Paris, and applied himself to the study of the civil and canon law, and commenced doctor of both. At the earnest entreaty of lord Rankeilior, and his lady Jean Adamson, he was prevailed upon to be preceptor and governor to their eldest son and heir, Mr James Mackgill; he went afterwards to Padua, the most celebrated academy in Europe, where he completed his studies, he returned by Geneva, and was instructed by Beza in the principles of the reformation, which he cordially embraced. After seven years absence from his native country, he came to Paris on his way home, where he narrowly escaped the fury of the Parisians on account of his religion, he fled from province to province with the hazard of his head, and escaped with the utmost difficulty. He had scarcely got ten miles from the place of his last retreat, when it was discovered, his hospitable landlord was apprehended, tried and condemned to be thrown from the top of his own house, where he cruelly perished, which afflicted Mr Adamson in a most tender manner. About this time he wrote the tragedy of Herod Agrippa who slew James with the sword

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and his heroic poem of the book of Job in elegant Latin, he wrote also a classical poetic paraphrase on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, published in the *Musæ sacræ poetarum Scotorum*, V. ii.

In the year 1591, Douglas earl of Morton, then regent, had not the appropriation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews' revenue. He placed Mr John Douglas who was provost of the new college, to bear the name of Bishop, and collect the rents. Mr Patrick Adamson, in a sermon which he preached against the order of bishops, had the following observations, that there were three sorts of bishops,

I. *The Lords Bishop*, viz. Christ's, and such was every pastor.

II. *My Lord Bishop*, that is a bishop who is a lord who sits and votes in parliament, and exercises jurisdiction over his brethren.

III, *My Lord's Bishop*, one, whom some lord or nobleman court places to be his *receiver general* of his rents, and to give leases for his lordship's behoof; but had neither the means or power of a bishop. This last sort he called a *Tulchan-bishop*, because the *Tulchan*, which is a calfs skin stuffed with straw, is set up to make the cow give down her milk, so are such bishops set up, that their lords by them may milk the *shoppricks*.

In support of Adamson's doctrine, Mr Knox on the tenth of February, in the presence of Morton and his Archbishop, in his sermon, pronounced a curse on the *receiver*, and a curse on the *giver*.

Morton, perceiving *Adamson* to be a man of parts, and ambitious, made him one of his chaplains, and a few years after, on the death of Mr John Douglas, he advanced him to the Archbishoprick, and thus he became a *Tulchan* bishop, which gave great offence to the clergy. *Knox*, who had refused an English bishoprick, wrote to *Beza* an account of this procedure, to which *Beza* answered,—"I would have you, my

* dear *Knox*, and the other brethren to remember that
* which is before your eyes: as bishops brought forth the
* papacy; so false bishops, the relicts of popery, shall bring
* in Epicurism into the world: they that desire the church
* good and safety, let them take heed of this pestilence, and
* seeing ye have put that plague to flight timeously, I heartily
* pray you, that ye never admit it again; albeit it seem
* plausible, with the pretence or colour of keeping unity,
* which pretence deceived the ancient fathers, yea even many
* of the best of them."

The provincial synod of Fife (A. D. 1586) summoned the archbishop to appear and answer for his contempt of the decrees of former assemblies, in presuming to exercise the function of a bishop, and tho' he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and appealed from it to the king, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him. *Adamson* with no less indecency, thundered his archiepiscopal excommunication against *Melvil* and some other of his

* Calderwood ad an. 1572.

† Hum
Robertson
† Robe

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opponents: soon after, this matter was by the general assembly compromised. To prevent heats among the members, the archbishop renounced any claim of supremacy over the church, and he promised to demean himself suitably to the character of a bishop as described by Paul. The assembly without examining the foundations of the sentence of excommunication, declared that it should be held of no effect, and restored him to all the privileges, which he enjoyed before it was pronounced, several zealous members protested against his decision. †

A. D. 1591. The archbishop having fallen under the king's displeasure, having been deprived of the revenues of his see, in consequence of the act of annexation, and being oppressed with age, with poverty and diseases, made the *meanest* submission to the clergy, and delivered to the assembly, a formal recantation of all his opinions concerning church government, which had been matter of offence to the presbyterians. Such a confession from the *most learned person of the order*, was considered as a testimony which the force of truth had extorted from the mouth of an adversary. ‡

The Editor begs leave to dissent (with all due submission) from the opinion of the justly celebrated historian, whose authority he has just now produced. If *the force of truth* extorted

torted

† Humes History of the Douglasses. 8vo. vol. II. p. 218. 242.

Robertson's History of Scotland. 8vo. vol. II. p. 139. 140.

‡ Robertson's History of Scotland. 8vo. vol. II. p. 204.

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torted the confession from the learned prelate, and we have no reason to question it, if we can give credit to *Calderwood* who has given us that confession, signed by the archbishop's own hand, before several witnesses of reputation. How can it be called *meanness* to confess the *truth*, of which he was convinced, with the greatest *submission* and *humility*, especially, as he was soon to appear before a higher tribunal from which there is no appeal. He died in February next year, and was assisted in his last moments by the zealous and well-known Mr David Black minister at St. Andrews.

The excellent historian leaves us to suppose that if the learned archbishop had not been oppressed *with age*, with *poverty and diseases*, he would not have made that *mean submission*. The Editor hesitates here; he thinks that the force of truth can do great things, and can humble the loftiest looks, and bring down the pride of man, besides, he questions if *oppression with age*, could be a cause of the *mean submission*, for he was but fifty years old at his death.

Mr John Adamson, principal of the college at Edinburgh, was also a gentleman of learning and taste, a specimen of which, we have in his encomium on the school of Perth, and its learned Rector, Mr John Row.

De schola Perthana ejusque Scholarcha trium linguarum
Professore, encomiasticum.

Perthana quondam latialis linguæ schola
Laude cluebat, fueratque unius labri
Nunc est trilinguis; Latio jungens Græciam

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Et huic Palæstinam omnium linguis loquens
 O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam!
 O ter beatum Rollum Rectorem tuum!
 Per quem juvenus barbariæ præcul habitu
 Rudis et tenella primulis labellulis
Solymas, Athenas, et Romam scite sonat.

Joannes Adamsonus.

While Knox was making rapid progress in the reformation which drew the serious attention of the court of Rome. The pope, dreading the consequences of a revolt in Scotland, sent over doctor John Row, who was born in Fife, educated in Andrews, and then at Rome, as a proper match for Knox, to support the tottering interest of the Roman church. Row was a gentleman of address, and understood the scriptures in their original languages. He is said to be the first who introduced the knowledge of Hebrew into Scotland. While he was promoting the cause of Rome with learning, zeal and assiduity, curiosity prompted him to go and hear Knox preach. He was surprised, convinced and admired the reformer, and became a zealous promoter of the reformation, and by the earnest intreaty of Knox he became the first reformed minister at Perth, where he was settled the 17th of July 1560. He taught his son the *belles lettres*, who could read the Hebrew when he was about five years old.

Dr Row's grandchild Mr John Row was, by a recommendation from the lord chancellor Hay to the magistrates, chosen

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chosen rector of the grammar school. The chancellor was a judge of merit, and the town was obliged to him for commending such a scholar. He taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew, with success and applause. He raised the reputation of the school, which for many years was reckoned one of the first rate seminaries of learning in the kingdom. George earl of Kinnoul, committed his sons to his care, and one of them was such a proficient in Hebrew, that he, when scarce fifteen years of age, composed and pronounced an elegant oration in Hebrew, in praise of the sacred tongue, in the presence of a respectable company at the annual visitation of the school. After Mr Row had been several years rector, he was called to be minister at Aberdeen, where in A. D. 1641 he published his compendious institutions of the Hebrew tongue, a small enchiridion, but a work of real merit.

In the note at the foot of p. 24. vol. I. the editor followed Buchanan in the account of the destruction of *Berth*, which is supposed to be distinct from the modern *Perth*. He had not then seen Forduns account, he has now carefully examined that ancient historian, and rectified the mistake, which he refers the reader, vol. II. p. 111 and 112. The town was anciently called *Berth*, and occupied the same ground with the present *Perth*, it stands near to the centre of the kingdom, and was of such consideration, that several councils of the whole clergy were held in it, viz.

A. D. 1201 (nine years before the great inundation) a

continuation

national council was holden at Perth in December, by John de Salerno, cardinal Legate, in which many canons were made. Chron. Maylr. Hoveden. p. 468, &c.

A. D. 1206. A national council, called in the original writ *synodis generalis*, holden at Perth in April, *ex charta penes vicecomitem de Arbutnot*.

A. D. 1211. (the year after the inundation) A national council was holden at Perth, by William, bishop of St Andrews, Walton, bishop of Glasgow, and the other bishops of Scotland. Scotchron. Palletens. in biblioth. regia. Lond. lib. ix. c. 37.

A. D. 1221. James, canon of St Victor at Paris, penitentiary of the pope, and legate to Scotland, held a national council of all the prelates of Scotland at Perth, during four days in the month of February. Scotchron. id. lib. ix. c. 37.

In the chartulary of Murray, we have an account of another national council, indicted to be holden in *domo fratrum predicatorum de Perth*, on Wednesday before the feast of St Luke in October, but without the date of the year; only it must have been some years after A. D. 1230, when the black Friars first came into Scotland. However in this act, we have the form of the bishop-conservator his indicting or convocating the yearly council, *authoritate conservatoria*, as the act bears by a letter to each bishop, charging him to give his presence at such a place (which was commonly the convent of the black Friars at Perth,) on such a day with continuation of days; together with the abbots and priors,



the proctors of Chapter's, colleges and convents of his diocese, there to treat of the reformation of the state of the church, &c.

A. D. 1234. A national council held at Perth, Scotch Passat lib. ix. chap. 59.

A. D. 1268. Othobon, cardinal legate in England, cited the bishops in Scotland to a council, which he was to hold in England, two of them went as deputies from the rest, but refused to accept of the canons of his council, and being returned home, they, with all the rest of the bishops and clergy of Scotland, held a national council of their own, in their usual manner at Perth. Scotchron. lib. x. c. xxv.

A. D. 1273. A national council at Perth, Scotchron. lib. x. c. xxxiii.

A. D. 1275. A national council at Perth in presence of Bagimond the pope's nuntio, who came to collect the taxation of all benefices, and settled a roll of those taxations that served for a rule in following times, to which our acts of parliament refer. Scotchron. lib. x. c. xxxv.

A. D. 1280. A national council holden at the black Friars of Perth, on Monday after St Bartholomew's day in August, mentioned in a sentence of Archibald, bishop of Murray this year. chart. vet. Eccles. Morav. f. 46. In the advocate's library, Edinburgh.

A. D. 1321. A national council holden at Perth in July, mentioned in the rolls of king Robert the first, ex. collect. Com. de Panmure, N^o LXXX. p. 65.

A. D.

A. D. 1420. A national council holden, 16 July, at the blackfriars of Perth, by William, bishop of Dunblain, conservator; and in that quality, president of the council. There is an act of this council concerning the quotes of testament, but the act is more considerable, because it describes the form of the council which is there called "*Synodis provincialis, et concilium generale regni scotiæ*," with the names of the bishops present in person, or by procurator, among other things it appears, that the decrees or statutes were sealed by all the bishops seals. This act is in the original chartulary of Brechin. *penes Comitem de Panmure. fol. 62.*

A. D. 1457. A national council held at Perth, in which, among other acts, a declaration was made concerning the king's right of nomination to benefices, during the vacancies of bishopricks, &c. *Records of parliament. James III. fol. 75.*

A. D. 1459. A national council holden in July at Perth, by Thomas, bishop of Aberdeen, conservator; and in that quality president of the council, in which the afore said declaration was renewed. *Records of parliament as above.*

But the most ancient council in Scotland, which we have a record, was holden at Scone, the sixth year of the reign of our king Constantine the son of Ethus. A. D. 906, in which Constantine and Kellach the bishop, with the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches, and of the gospel, on a little-hill, thence called "*Collis Credulitatis*" (Knoll Creidimh, I suppose in the vulgar language) near the royal city of Scone; as like, it was the same place so famous afterwards by the

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name of the *Mute-hill* of Scone, called "*Omnis Terra*." *

In the note at the foot of p. 107. vol. I. The editor says that *Houghmanstares* is now unknown. He has since been informed by a letter from John Drummond at Luncarty-miln, that *Houghmanstares* lies at the north-west end of the muir of Thorn, about half a mile west of the high road to Dunkeld — a little west of it, is a large pond of water, supplied from the celebrated hill of *Birnam* and adjacent hills, which is the miln-dam to Colray miln near to *Murthly house*, the seat of Sir John Stewart of Grandtully. This pond retains the name of the *Stare-dam*, on the north of it is a rising ground named *Court-hill*. It is said, that *Ruthven* the Sheriff, upon that spot, gave sentence against some ringleaders of the thieves. About half a mile north from it, at the east end of *Roch-in-roy-wood*, (the remains of the ancient *Birnam* wood) there is a large oak-tree, where the thieves were hanged, called the *Hanged mens-tree*. The people from the neighbouring villages travel to Dunkeld through *Houghmanstares*, *Court-hill*, and thro' part of *Rough in roy*, and where it joins the Dunkeld road, it is called the *Hanged-man's road*. The tradition of the country is, that it was called *Houghmanstares*, from the pitiful looks of the houghed thieves left on

* In sexto anno regni sui, Constantinus rex filius Edij, e Kellechus episcopus, leges disciplinaeque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis, prope regali civitate Scoan (sic) devoverunt custodiri ab hoc die, collis, hoc (nomen) meruit, i. e. collis credulitatis. Jones's appendix, Apud Guthrie, vol. X. p. 416, &c.

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spot. Mr Drummond was born at *Dalparvie* near to the
place, and his account of it, is ingenious and probable.

In vol. I. p. 25th, the editor, in a note, has given some ac-
count of urns found at the bottom of the north bank of the
river Almond, near the bed of the river, about eighteen feet
below the surface of the ground. It was conjectured, that
this place was a Roman cemetery, and that more urns might
be found, as the river continued to wash away the face of
the north-bank.

In April last, after the winter inundations, a new pillar of
stone was discovered on the west side of those already
described. Bailie Thomas Marshall and some other inquisi-
tive gentlemen, went and caused the bottom of the pillar to
be dug out, they found an urn broken into four or five
pieces, and would have contained about three or four English
gallons; it stood upon a square brick stone with a turned up
rim, like the flat of a tea-pot. The vase had a narrow
mouth, with two cylindrical handles, and stood on three
short round feet: hard by the vase, on the east side, lay, on
some square bricks, the remains of a helmet, and the han-
dle of a spear almost consumed with rust and a piece of wood
within the handle.

The earthen vase measured 15 inches diameter, and one
inch in thickness.

The mouth of it 6 and 3 fourth inches diameter, and four
inches the inside of the brim.

The pedestal is 14 inches square, burnt black and vitrified.
Underneath the whole was dugged out an oblong square
bar

bar of lead, weighing 73 pound weight, and on one of
sides are the following letters,

(X J. XXXX^{II}

The interpretation is submitted to the inquisitive antiquarian

These urns are, at least, as old as the days of Agricola, who engaged and beat the Caledonian army, at the foot of the Grampian mountains, and obliged *Galgacus* to retreat with his scattered troops to their fastnesses among the inaccessible mountains, about A. D. 93.

The editor acknowledges his obligations to the gentlemen who have assisted him with materials for this publication. He is at the same time very sensible, that the performance is defective, and that several things he has published will be uninteresting to many, who may, at a leisure hour look into these pages.

The subjects treated are mostly local, and may afford some entertainment to readers in and about Perth. The editor does not question, that several entertaining records and anecdotes, may be found in the neglected corners of libraries, which might throw light upon past transactions enveloped in darkness and confusion. Popular errors and mistakes, may be handed down through several generations, by tradition and adopted for truth, especially if they are patronized by venerable names.

If the editor shall be so happy as to start the game to any gentleman of leisure, taste and abilities, who shall successfully pursue it, and give salutary food to the inquisitive and studious, the editor will be gratified, and he himself will also merit the thanks of the public.

N. B. Besides several inverted letters, the indulgent reader will be pleased to Correct the following ERRATA which mar the sense.

Page Line

1. line penult. *r.* iniquitous
 2. 29. for 1666. *r.* 1645
 3. 32. for Brauchie *r.* Beau-
 chie
 4. 21. insert (:) after arrows
 5. 22. after thirteen, delete (:)
 6. 24. for north *r.* west
 7. 32. after inundation, de-
 lete (,)
 8. 4. *r.* describe
 9. 5. and 16. *r.* human
 10. 31. after eldest *r.* son
 11. 8. *r.* there
 12. 27. *r.* Edwards
 13. 17. *r.* attacked
 14. line penult. *r.* we
 15. 23. *r.* was
 16. 35. *r.* arises
 17. 7. *r.* recantation
 VOL. II.
 18. 29. for 1497 *r.* 1398
 19. 31. for 1497. *r.* 1398
 20. 16. for 1504. *r.* 1405
 21. 26. for closed *r.* inclosed
 22. line penult. for oth *r.* other
 23. 4. for their *r.* thir
 24. 24. *r.* repaired

Page Line

36. 11. for seven *r.* six
 42. 2. *r.* Bruik
 ibid. 3. *r.* joyse
 47. 29. *r.* Burghs
 49. 8. *r.* commissioners
 54. 12. *r.* betwixt
 59. 22. *r.* the whilks we by
 thir presents dispence:
 60. 8. *r.* records
 66. 8. *r.* under
 ibid. 16. *r.* hand havand
 75. 2. delete (.) after grace
 109. 14. delete By the then
 minister Mr Malcom
 ibid. 17. for collection *r.* con-
 tribution
 — 26. for Munday *r.* Sunday
 110. 23. after *before* insert (:)
 for parting *r.* fasting,
 after *which* delete (,)
 ibid. 26. for Munday (15th) *r.*
 Sunday (14th)
 122. 5. *r.* which
 129. 16. after chapel for (.)
r. (;)
 190. 15. for are *r.* is
 200. 22. for swe *r.* seu.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE FIRST

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

IN THE YEAR 1642

PRINTED BY J. STURGEON

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THE
INVENTORY
OF THE
GABIONS

IN MR GEORGE RUTHVEN'S CLOSET,
OR CABINET.

OF uncouth forms, and wond'rous shapes,
Like peacocks, and like *Indian* apes;
Like leopards, and beasts spotted,
Of clubs curiously knotted;
Of wond'rous workmanships and rare,
Like eagles flying in the air;
Like *Centaurs* Marmails in the seas;
Like dolphins, and like honey bees:
Some carv'd in timber, some in stone,
Of the wonder of *Albion*;
Which this close cabin doth include,
Some portends ill, some presage good.
What sprite *Dadalian* hath forth brought them;
The gods assist, I think ye wrought them.
Our influences did conspire,
To this comely cabin to attire.

A

Neptune

Neptune gave first his awful *Trident*
 And *Pan* the horns gave of a *Bident*.
Triton, his trumpet of a *Buckie*,
 Propin'd to him, was large and luckie,
Mars gave the glist'ring sword and dagger,
 Wherewith some time he wont to swagger.
Cyclopean armour of *Achilles*,
 Fair *Venus*, purtrayed by *Apelles*.
 The valiant *Heclor's* weighty spear ;
 Wherewith he fought the *Trojan* war.
 The fatal sword and seven-fold shield
 Of *Ajax* who could never yield.
 Yea more the great *Herculean* club,
 Bruis'd *Hydra* in the *Lerne* dub.
 Hot *Vulcan* with his crooked heel,
 Bestow'd on him a temper'd steel :
Cyclopes were the brethren *Allans*,
 Who swore they swet more than ten gallons,
 In framing it upon their forge,
 And temp'ring it for Mr *George*.
 But *Æsculapius* taught the lesson,
 How he should use't in goodly fashion,
 And bade extinguish't in his ale,
 When that he thought it pure and stale.
 With a pugill of *Polypodium*,
 And *Ceres* brought a *Manusodium*.
 And will'd him toast it at his fire,
 And of such bread never to tyre.

When *Podalirius* did conclude,
 That for his milt was sov'reign good.

Gold hair'd *Apello* did bestow,

His mighty founding silver bow ;

With music, instruments great store,

His *harp*, his *cythar*, and mandore ;

His piercing arrows and his quiver ;

But *Cupid* shot him through the liver :

And set him all up in a flame,

To follow a Peneian dame :

But being once repudiat

Did lurk within this cabinet.

And there, with many a sigh and groan,

For *Cupid's* wrong he did bemoan.

But this deep passion to rebet,

Venus bestow'd her amulet.

The fiery flame for to bear down

Old lactuce, and *Populeon* :

And thenceforth will'd the poplar tree,

To him should consecrated be.

With twenty thousand pretious things,

Mercurius gave his staff and wings :

And more this cabin to decore,

Of curious staffs he gave fourscore :

Of clubs and cudgels contortized,

Some plain work, others crispe and frized,

Like satyrs, dragons, flying fowls,

Like fishes, serpents, cats and owls,

Like winged horses, strange chimæras,
 Like unicorns and fierce pantheras.
 So livelike, that a man would doubt,
 If art or nature brought them out,
 The monstrous branched great harthorn,
 Which on *Acteons* front was born,
 On which did hing his velvet knapsea,
 A scimitar cut like a hacſaw,
 Great buckies, partans, toes of lapsters,
 Oyſter ſhells, enſigns for tapſters,
 Gadie beeds and chryſtal glaſſes.
 Stones, and ornaments for laſſes ;
 Garlands made of ſummer flowers,
 Propin'd him by his paramours ;
 With many other pretious thing,
 Which all upon its branches hing :
 So that it doth excell, but ſcorn,
 The wealthy *Amalthean* horn.
 This cabin contains what you wiſh,
 No place his ornaments doth miſs.
 For there is ſuch varietie,
 Looking breeds no ſatietie.
 In one nook ſtands Lochabrian axes,
 And in another nook the glaxe is.
 Here lys a turkaſſe, and a hammer,
 Here lys a Greek and Latin grammar :
 Here lys a book they call the dennet,
 There lys the head of old *Brown Kennet* ;

ere hings an auncient mantua bannet,
 here hings a robin and a jannet.
 pon a cord that's strangular,
 buffet-stool sexangular :
 fool muting in his own hand,
 oft, oft my muse, found not this sand :
 hat ever matter come a shorter
 ouch not, I pray, the iron mortar :
 s cougs, his dishes, and his caps,
 totum, and some bairnes taps ;
 gardareilie and a whistle,
 trumpe, an abercorn muffle ;
 s hats, his hoods, his bells, his bones,
 s alley bowles, his curling stones ;
 he sacred games to celebrate,
 hich to the gods are consecrate ;
 ad more, this cabin to adorn,
 ana gave her hunting horn ;
 ad that there should be no defect,
 od Momus' gift did not inlake ;
 ly * * * was to blame,
 ho would bestow nothing for shame :
 his cabine was so cramm'd with store,
 e could not enter at the door :
 his pretty want for to supply,
 privy parlour stands near by ;
 which there is in order plac'd,
 ebus with the Nine Muses grac'd ;

In compasse, sitting like a crown,
 This is the place of great renown :
 Here all good learning is inschryn'd,
 And all grave wisdom is confin'd ;
Clio with stories ancient times,
Melpomene with tragick lines,
 Wanton *Thalia*'s comedies,
Euterpe's sweetest harmonies ;
Terpsichore's heart-moving cithar,
 Lovely *Erato*'s numb'ring meeter ;
Caliope's heroic songs,
Urania's heavenly motions,
Polymnia, in various musick,
 Paints all with flowers of rhetoric.
 Amidst sits *Phæbus* laureat,
 Crown'd with the whole *Pierian* state ;
 Here's *Galen*, and *Hippocrates*,
 Divine *Plato*, and *Socrates* ;
 Th' *Arabian* skill and excellence,
 The *Greek* and *Roman* eloquence :
 With many worthy work and story,
 Within this place inaccessible.
 These models in this cabine plac'd,
 Are with the world's whole wonders grac'd ;
 What curious art, or nature fram'd,
 What monster hath been taught, or tam'd ;
 What *Polycletus* in his time,
 What *Archimedes* rich engine ;

Who taught the art of Menadrie,
 The *Syracusan* Synedrie :
 That gods, or mortals, did forth bring,
 In his cabinet doth hing;
 Those famous relicks all are stow'd,
 And all with precious poulder stow'd;
 And richly deck'd with curious hingers,
 Brought by Arachne's nimble fingers.
 This is his storehouse, and his treasure,
 This is his paradise of pleasure.
 This is the arcenal of gods,
 All the world this is the odds:
 This is the place *Apollo* chuses,
 This is the residence of Muses:
 And to conclude all this in one,
 This is the *Romaine Pantheon*.

An Apology of the AUTHOR: Done as by the Mourner to the Lovers of Learning.

E T none offend, tho' in mine age I sing
 Manlike, some lawful joys youth had did bring:
 My songs are mournings, which may clearly shew
 An inconstant course of all things here below;
 But guided by that stedfast hand always,
 Which, 'midst confusions great, the balance stays.
 As *Heracitus*-like sometimes I mourn
 Giddy fortunes reelings: Thence I turn

Like

Like to *Democritus* in laughter wholly,
 To see th' inconstant changes of her folly.
 Thus do I mourn, and laugh oft-times by course,
 As giddie fortune reels from good to worse :
 For neither is the battle to the strong,
 Nor doth unto the swift the race belong * ;
 Nor bread to these whose wit should have commanding,
 Nor riches to the men of understanding ;
 Nor favour doth to men of knowledge fall,
 But chance (as would appear) doth order all :
 So if the second causes we do view,
 We shall find out a paradise most true.

But, O thou prime and supreme cause of all,
 Nothing to *Thee* by fortune doth befall !
 For *Thou*, in midst of all these great confusions,
 Foresees and works most permanent conclusions ;
 Keeping most comely order in varieties,
 And making concord in all contrarieties :
 Hence doth it come to pass of thy benignitie,
 That wicked men possess both wealth and dignitie :
 But as its written riches are preserv'd,
 And for the ill of th' owners are reserv'd † ;
 And as a mighty load the bearers smother, s,
 So some to their own hurt rule over others ‡,
 Not looking to th' account they must needs make,
 Nor how their smiling fortune may turn back :

Who Vol. I.

* Eccles. ix. 11.

† Eccles. v. 13.

‡ Eccles. viii.

whose honour like the sea doth ebb and flow,
 whose beauty hath the time to fade and grow :
 whose riches like the eagle hath their wings,
 now lighting down on earth to heaven then springs *.
 The body's summer *rose* is quickly gone,
 winter's stormy age all overblowne,
 to shew earth's constant changes ; and that all
 which here on earth do spring, must likewise fall :
 O how happy he, that state who quickly finds,
 which is not shaken by earth's contrare winds :
 Hence *solitarie* and *poore* content I live,
 Hence better hap, blind fortune doth not give ;
 And like *Diogenes*, contemplate all
 within my *cabine*, that doth here befall ;
 which gives me subject both to sing and mourn,
 the times o'erpast which never shall return :
 I praise the worthy deeds of martial men,
 and I do wish, the whole world might them ken,
 I praise their virtues ; no, their virtuous deeds
 do praise themselves,—and as most lively seeds,
 get like children ; so commemoration
 gets them native sons, by imitation.
 O native ! more native than by blood descended,
 who, with their fame, their fortunes have mispend'd ;
 for what avails to point a noble race †,
 long descent of branches, if in face,



* Prov. xxiii. 5.

† Juvenal's Satyr. 8.

Like virtue doth not shine, and equal worth,
 Ignoble deeds bely a noble birth;
 Maugre all contrare thoughts, this true shall trie,
Virtue alone is true nobilitie:

If one most vicious in my line should be,
 Five hundred years ago, what is't to me
 Who virtuous am? What? can it derogate
 To my good name, or violate my state?
 Or if ancestors brave shall me preceed,
 And I do prove the knave, what shall proceed
 By their heroic virtues unto me,
 Whose vicious life denies my progenie?
 For lineage and forbears *Naso* said *,
 Are not call'd ours, nor what our selves not made.
 To prove this paradoxe I durst be bold †,
 With judgment of the learned, but I hold
 My pen, for all do know of old what's said,
 I rather that *Thersites* were my daid;
 And I *Achilles*-like most noble rather ‡,
 Than I *Thersites*, he to be my father:
 True generosity doth so esteem,
 Tho' ignorance the contrare would maintaine:
 But *Memus* must needs carp, and *Misanthropos*
 Be *Areopagita*-like *Scythropos*.

* Metam. b. xiii.

† Aristot. Eth. l. i. ch. ii.

‡ Juven. Sat. 8.

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scarce were these lines as yet come to the birth,
 when some false flattering sycophant gave forth
 soft foul aspersions, making rumours spread,
 that citing of some antient storys bred *;
 a small disgrace unto the present times,
 to names and persons of most ancient stems;
 and that I write of purpose to attain them,
 with of this their wrong it might repent them.
 For as the contrarie's true, so I protest
 never had a purpose to infest
 the meanest, far less these of better sort,
 where birth and grace do make a sweet consort.
 And, more, I do protest, against my will,
 these lines were rest from under my rude quill.
 never did intend so great a height,
 that they should touch the press or come to light:
 but now, sith more there is than my design,
 forced am my just defence to bring
 against my traducers who maliciouslie,
 with baneful envy's tooth have snatch'd at me.

B 2

But

* The judicious Reader will discern, that the Author
 alludes at the tragical death of John Earl of Gowry and his
 brother. We see him more explicit in the Poem, when he nar-
 rates what happened on the 15th of April 1601, when K.
 James was openly declared Provost of Perth at the Cross;
 when Mr George Ruthven kiss'd the King's hand, was received
 into favour, and assoilzied from all suspicion of treason. It
 was dangerous at that time for any person in Perth to express
 the smallest doubt of the conspiracy of the two noble brothers,
 or to imagine that the King and his servants had any iniquous
 design against them.

But I appeal to all judicious learning,
 Whose wits are exercis'd in discerning;
 If I your approbation do find,
 I care not these *Ardelio's* catching wind.
 Nor other patrons to I seek but you,
 To take of this small piece a little view,
 And give just censure join'd with your protection,
 More worth than *Zoilus* hate *Gnatho's* affection;
 Your favours shall me shelter, and defend
 Against all envy's rage, to live to end;
 Trusting in God to keep my conscience pure,
 Whose favour most of all shall me secure.

DE AUTHORIS præmaturo Obitu Eligidio

Adamsone jaces, raptus florentibus annis?
 Totque animi dotes hausit acerba dies?
 Tam charum *Phæbo* lethali tæbe levare,
 Artes *Phæbeæ* non potuere caput?
 Quod tibi si canam fas aspexisse senectam,
 Pectoris et diti promere clausa sinu
Inferius Tyberi non *Taus* nomen haberet,
 Et *Romæ* æquaret *Pertha* superba decus
 Hæc vide, quæ prima lusit vernante juvena;
 Talis erat *Giris* Virgiliique *Culex*,
 Aspice conatu quam nil molitur inepto
 Grandia, seu memoret, sive jocosa canat:

artia grandiloquo memorat dum bella cothurno,

Mœoniam credas incinuisse tubam :

laudes canat heroum, aut facta inclita *Jovæ*,

Daunigenam jures increpuisse fides,

et joca si letæ demittit plectra *Thalia*,

Bilbilidæ dicas plectra movere sales :

canit historias, diæ si dogmata legis,

Dixeris his omnes invigilasse dies :

enique sic unus cuncta proludit in arte,

Seu brevis ars illi vitæque longa foret.

quod si tantus honos florum, quæ gloria Messis;

(Hanc nisi præriperent fata inimica) foret,

et tu quæ primæ dederas spiramina vitæ,

Cui vitæ æternum reddidit ille diem;

eternos titulos spirante in marmore scribas,

Usque Memor Civis, inclita *Pertha*, tui.

TH. CRAFORDIUS.

IN PERTH anent two of her Sons, her two
Suns Mr Henry Anderson *, and Mr
Henry Adamson his Nephew.

TWO *Henries*, like two suns upon thee rose,

The uncle and the nephew, and did close,

The

* He was proprietor of Tullilum near Perth, several gentlemen of that house were Magistrates. These lands are now the property of the town of Perth, and of the glover-corporation.

The one a summer, th' other a winter day,
 Nor longer could on our horizon stay,
 With home-bred beams, the one on thee did shine,
 Th' other with rays brought from the coast *Lavine*,
 But herein these excell fair Phœbus brother,
 He and his beams do rise and set together :
 Their rays shine most, themselves when under earth,
 And shall perpetual splendor give to *Perth* :
 So be it ay, upon thee, Noble Town,
 May many such Suns rise, and so go down.

J. A.

Ad A U T H O R E M proximi Epigrammatis, de *tertio* Perthi
Sole Patricio Adamsoni Poeta et Oratore elegantissimo, qui
Perthi natus et educatus, ob eximias animi dotes, insignem
 Eruditionem, et incomparabilem Eloquentiam, pari
 Pietate conjunctam, in *Archiepiscopatum Andreanum* evectus
 est.

EPANORTHOTICON.

P E R T H A duos tantum vidit, sua pignora, soles
 Lætifica claram spargere Luce Diem ?
 Hinc *Adamsoni* discussit nubila lampas,
 Hinc *Andersoni* fulserat ante Jnbar.
 Tertius hinc ortus (gentilis et ipse Nepotis)
 Clarius in *Arctoo Phœbus* et orbe fuit.
 Nec tantum *Arctoo* : sed et hunc quoque *Gallia* soles,
 Æquantem stupuit quos sua terra dabat,
 Æquantemque suos mirata est *Anglia* soles,

Lumina

mine multiplicis enituisse facis,
 on alius quisquam, docti pollentior oris,
 lmine : Non calamo qui superaret, erat.
 ompta illi *Graia* et *Latia* facundia linguæ,
 ta ille veterum dogmata cuncta Sophoon
 us, orbatae, *Buchanani* in funere, Musæ
 stora seu sacros incoluere lares.
 ta majus nulli divina oracula : Nullus,
 ec melius posset, qui referare, fuit.
 c, quanquam occiduas currum demisit in undas,
 x tenebris radios occuluisse potest.

T. C.

IN AUCTOREM Libri.

UPER *Adamsonus* vicit splendore triones,
 At nunc occiduum spissior umbra tegit.
 n tamen in cæcas omnino evanuit auras,
 Liquerat en patrio lumina clara, solo.
 rthigenasque suos secus haud intermicat ille :
 (Accendens radio nobiliore diem)
 Phæbe reliquis præfulgens lucidâ stellis,
 Noctigenam pleno dum movet orbe facem.

Ad Pertham.

id fies ? quid tristi rumpis præcordia luctu,
 Pone modum lachrimis, inclyta *Pertha* tuis ;

Occiderat

Occiderat tuus, heu, fato *Adamsonus* iniquo:
Non tamen interiit, sed redivivus adest.

To the Memory of the Author.

Dear soul, thou hast obtain'd more lasting fame,
In folly's colours wisdom setting forth:
Than if ten fabricks like *Mausolus* frame,
Were for thee rear'd in witness of thy worth.
Thy *Perth* may boast of such a gratefull son,
Who thus hath honour'd his dear aged mother;
Thy *Muse* such glory and such fame hath won
To her, as no oblivion can it smother.
Art, wit, and learning, learning, wit, and art,
Do jointly justie here, each of them striving;
Which carry shall the prize, and bear chief part
In these thy lays, thy native town describing:
Thy *George's Gabions* shew to underlings,
That all things trifles be that Heaven not reaches;
By what thy *Gall* and he, in rapture sings
Much wisdom divine and humane thou teaches.
Thy death the Muses darlings all shall mourn,
And shall a tomb erect unto thy name;
Of tears turn'd *cristal*, and upon thine urn,
These words shall write as blazon of thy fame.

Here lys his dust by whose most learned quill,
He and his *Perth* do live, and shall live still.

Jo. MOORE.

The MUSES THRENODIE.

Of Mr *George Ruthven* the tears and mournings,
 Amidst the giddie course of fortune's turnings,
 Upon his dear friend's death Mr *John Gall*,
 Where his rare ornaments bear a part, and wretched *Gabions* all.

The FIRST MUSE.

NOW must I mourn for *Gall*, since he is gone,

And ye my *Gabions* help me him to mone;

And in your courses sorrow for his sake,

Whose matchless Muse immortal did you make.

Who now shall pen your praise and make you knowne,

By whom now shall your virtues be forth showne:

Who shall declare your worth? is any able?

Who dare to meddle with *Apelles* table *?

None me! there's none: And is there none indeed?

Then must ye mourn of force, there's no remeed:

And I for my part, with you in my turne

Will keep a dolefull consort whilst ye mourne:

And thus with echoing voice, shall howl and cry,

Gall, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die?

Now first my *Bowes* begin this dolefull song;

No more with clangors let your shafts be stung,

VOL. I.

C

In

* *Apelles* was a celebrated painter in the days of Alexander Great, who would allow no other painter to draw his portrait; he left an imperfect picture of *Venus*, no painter would venture to finish it.



In fields abroad, but in my cabine stay,
 And help me for to mourn till dying day.
 With dust and cobwebs cover all your heads,
 And take you to your *matins* and your *beads* :
 A *requiem* sing unto that sweetest soul,
 Which shines now *fainted* above other pole.
 And ye my clubs, you must no more prepare,
 To make your balls flee whistling in the air * :
 But hing your heads, and bow your crooked crags,
 And dress you all in sackcloth and in rags :
 No more to see the sun, nor fertile fields,
 But closely keep you mourning in your bields;
 And for your part the tribble to you take,
 And when you cry, make all your crags to crake,
 And shiver when you sing, alas ! for *Gall* !
 Ah ! if our mourning might thee now recall !

And ye my *loadstones* of *Lednochian* lakes †.
 Collected from the loughs, where watrie snakes

* Perth stands in the middle of a beautiful green about an English mile in length, and divides it into two, called the north and south Inches, where the citizens for ages have exercised themselves during the spring and autumnal seasons with golf-clubs and balls. This pastime is interrupted during the summer-season by the luxuriance of the grass, which affords rich pasture for the milch-cows belonging to the inhabitants.

† *Lednoch* is situated about four computed miles north from Perth, on the banks of Almond river; about this place the best curling stones were found. The gentlemen of Perth, fond of the Athletic winter-diversion on the frozen river, sent and brought from *Lednoch* their curling stones. The Grays of *Lednoch* were proprietors of land to a considerable extent during three centuries.

so much abound take unto you a part,
 and mourn for *Gall*, who lov'd you with his heart,
 this sad dump and melancholick mood,
 the burdown ye must bear, not on the flood

C 2 *Or*

The remainder of this antient estate was lately purchased by George Augustus Barry, Esqr; Major of the fiftieth regiment, who has adorned that romantic place. By his uncommon industry carried forward by taste and good sense; Mr Barry has demonstrated what improvements may be made on pure nature; he has exhibited to us many beautifull and picturesque scenes, which were never thought to be there. Instead of an impenetrable forest of brushwood on the bank of the river, in view of *Lednoch*-house, we see in pleasure, that wilderness adorned with plantations of usefull beautifull trees. Instead of uncultivated fields covered with th, broom, noxious weeds and stones, we behold extensive meadows, rich corn-fields and large parks of grass. Instead of a desolate country kail-yard, we are presented with the sight of an elegant garden and orchard laid out in true taste, stocked with variety of usefull plants and excellent fruit-trees. The celebrated *Bessie Bell* and *Mary Gray* are buried near *Lednoch*. I shall give to the reader the history of these ladys, with some other curious anecdotes in the Major's own easie plain and descriptive manner, in a manner at my request with which he was pleased to favour me.

The common tradition of *Bessie Bell* and *Mary Gray* is, that the father of the former was laird of *Kinraid*, in the neighbourhood of *Lednoch*, and the latter laird of *Lednoch*; that these two young ladys were both very handsome, a most intimate friendship subsisted between them. That while Miss *Bell* was on a visit to Miss *Gray*, the plague broke out in the year 1666, in order to avoid which they built to themselves a bower, about three quarters of a mile west from *Lednoch*-house, in a very retired and romantic place, called *Burn-braes*, on the side of *Brauchie-burn*. There they lived for some time; but the plague raging with great fury, they caught the infection, it is said, from a young gentleman, who was in love with them both, and here they died. They were buried in another part of Mr *Gray*'s ground called *Dronach-haugh*, at the foot of a brae of the same name, and near to the bank of the river *Almond*. The burial-place lies about half a mile west from the present house of *Lednoch*.

" The

Or frozen watrie plaines, but let your tuning,
 Come help me for to weep by mournfull cruning.
 And ye the rest my *Gabions* less and more,
 Of noble kind, come help me for to roare!
 And of my woefull weeping take a part,
 Help to declare the dolour of mine heart:
 How can I choose, but mourne? when I think on
 Our games Olympick-like in times agone.
 Chiefly wherein our cunning we did try,
 And matchless skill in noble archerie.
 In these our days when archers did abound
 In Perth, then famous for such pastimes found:
 Among the first, for archers we were known,
 * And for that art our skill was loudly blown:

" The old family-seat was a castle, which stood on a small
 " on the banks of *Almond*, a very strong situation naturally.
 " ditch that surrounded two thirds of the castle still remains,
 " the hill is called the *Castle-hill* to this day. This lies abo
 " quarter of a mile west from the present house.
 " The *Holy hill*, in which stood three crosses, is about a
 " dred yards south-west from the house. There is another
 " hill called the *Cross-hill*, on which stood a cross of great
 " quity, this lies about a mile and half north from the house,
 " near to the foot of which there are three wells, called the *Bis*
 " wells, which lie within a few yards of each other in a trian
 " shape. The tradition of these wells is this, that the *Bis*
 " *St. Andrew's*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and the Bishop of *D*
 " *blane*, all met at these wells, and each stood at the well, o
 " own diocesse, and drank to each other. These are the mo
 " markable curiositys on my ground," &c.

* Arc
 ers, wa
 James
 ssed an
 ting in
 oy when
 mes to
 round w
 hunting
 sed; bu
 outh In
 which tra
 the no
 as fixed
 as but l
 ove 500
 archers w

at time *Perth's* credit did stand with the best
 and bravest archers this land hath possess'd *.
 e spar'd nor gaines nor paines for to report
 to *Perth* the worship, by such noble sport ;
 witness the links of *Leith*, where *Cowper*, *Grahame*,
 and *Stewart* won the prize, and brought it home ;
 and in these games did offer ten to three,
 here to contend : *Quorum pars magna fui*.
 I mourn, good *Gall*, when I think on that stead,
 where yee did hail your shaft unto the head ;
 and with a strong and stedfast eye and hand,
 valiantly your bow yee did command ;
 fliddrie shaft forth of its forks did fling,
 rank gave the bow, the whistling air did ring ;
 the bowlt did cleave the clouds, and threat the skyes,
 and thence down falling to the mark it flies ;

Incontinent

* Archerie, of which the gentlemen of *Perth* were great ma-
 sters, was made an indispensable article of education from the days
 of *James the first* *. This most accomplished and wise Prince
 passed an act, forbidding the favorite diversion of foot-ball, substi-
 tuting in its place that of shooting with bows and arrows every
 boy when he came to the age of thirteen; was obliged at stated
 times to practise archerie at certain bow-marks ; there is a piece of
 ground without the north port on the left of the road leading to
Huntingtower, called the Bow-butt, where this exercise was prac-
 tised ; but the strong and expert archers had their bow-marks in the
 south Inch. Near the south end of this inch stands yet a stone,
 which tradition says was the southern mark, the northern is near
 the north west side of the Ditch that surrounds the mount, it
 was fixed on a rising ground called the Scholars Knowell, the stone
 was but lately carried off. The distance betwixt these marks is a-
 bove 500 fathoms. They must have been very strong and expert
 archers who could shoot an arrow betwixt these marks.

* *Guthrie's history*.

Incontinent the aimer gave a token,
 The mark was kill'd, the shaft in flinders broken :
 Then softly smiling, good *Gall*, thus quod I,
 Now find I time my archerie to try.
 And here by solemn vow I undertake,
 In token of my love, even for thy sake,
 Either to hit the mark, else shall I never,
 More with these arms of mine, use bow and quiver;
 Therewith my ligaments I did extend,
 And then a noble shaft I did commend
 Unto my bow, then firmly fix't mine eye,
 And closely level'd at *Orions'* knee;
 A star of greatest magnitude, who ken'd it
 So well as I, prays you be not offended ;
 (For I did use no magick incantation,
 For to conduct my shaft, I will find cation :)
 Then cleverly my fien soone can I feather,
 Upon my left arm was a brace of leather ;
 And with three fingers haling up the string,
 The bow in semicircle did I bring,
 With soft and tender lowse out went the shaft,
 Amids the clouds the arrow flew aloft :
 And as directed by a skilfull hand,
 With speedie hand, the steadfast mark it fand,
 The aimer gave his signe, furthwith was known,
 The shot was mine, the boulte in flinders flown,
 Above his shaft, in such difficile stead,
 Closely I hit the mark upon the head :

en on the plain we caprel'd wonder fast,
 hereat the people gazing were agast :
 th kind embracements did we thurst and thrimble;
 or in these days I was exceeding nimble ;)
 e leap't, we danc't, we loudly laugh't, we cry'd,
 in the earth such skill was never try'd
 archerie, as we prov'd in these days,
 hereby we did obtain' immortal praise :
 en, gossip *Gall*, quod I, I dare approve,
 ou hast a trusty token of my love.
 What shall be said of other martial games ?
 ne was inlaking from whence bravest stemmes ;
 torious trophees, palmes, and noble pynes,
 yes, and lawrels, such as auncient times
 or'd the *Grecian* victors in their playes,
 d worthie *Romanes* in their brave assayes,
 tryal of their strength each match'd with other,
 ose beauty was, *sweat mix'd with dust* together :
 h exercises did content us more,
 n if we had possess'd King Cræsus' store.
 O! ye fields, my native *Perth* neerby,
 ys you to speak, and truly testifie :
 at matchless skill we prov'd in all these places,
 hin the compass of three thousand paces
 either side, while as we went a shooting,
 strongly strove who should bring home the booting ;
 ngst the flowrie banks of *Tay* to *Almond* ;
 when I hit the mark, I cast a gamound ;

The

And

And there we view the place, where sometime stood,
 The ancient *Bertha* now o'erflow'd with flood
 Of mighty waters, and that princely hold,
 Where dwelt King *William*, by the stream down rol'd,
 Was utterly defac'd, and overthrown,
 That now the place thereof can scarce be known *:

* About the year one thousand two hundred and ten, *Bertha*, which stood near to the river *Tay*, about two English miles north from *Perth*, was destroyed in the night-time by a great inundation. So violent was the torrent, that the whole town was undermined, the houses levelled, and many persons of both sexes lost their lives. The royal palace did not escape. The King's youngest son *John*, with his nurse, were carried down the river and drowned, with about fourteen of the King's domesticks. *William*, the first surnamed the *Lion*, did not long survive the catastrophe; he dyed A. D. 1214. He laid the foundation of the present town of *Perth*, and endowed it with ample privileges, which were confirmed by the succeeding Monarchs, with many additional privileges, and was the first royal burgh of the kingdom.

The Kings of Scotland preceeding James the II^d were crowned at *Scone*, and resided at *Perth*, as the metropolis of the nation. While *James* was a minor, he resided and was educated in the castle of *Edinburgh*, and was crowned there, the 20th March A. D. 1437; *Edinburgh* began now to grow conspicuous, which, in this æra, was only remarkable for its strong castle and fine *Almond* bank. The Parliaments and Courts of Justice were removed from *Perth* to *Edinburgh*. But *Perth* kept its priority, untill the 22d year of *James the third's* reign, A. D. 1482.

There is a small village at the conflux of *Tay* and *Almond*, called to this day *Bertha*, where are some lanes in it known by the name of *Vennals*; a name by which several narrow bye-streets in *Perth* are known. If we give credit to *Buchanan*, *Bertha* was a place of importance besieged by the Danes, immediately before the battle of *Loncarty*, in the reign of *Kenneth the III^d*, (of which we shall speak in its proper place) this was above 220 years before *Perth* was founded.

The river *Almond* antiently had its course by *Ruthven* castle, *Huntingtower*, there is a small rivulet about half a mile below

ren through these haughs of fair and fertile ground,
 which, with fruit trees, with corns and flocks abound,
 meandering rivers, sweet flowres, heavenly honey,
 ore for our pastime than to conquesse money :

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D

We

The present *Almond* generally dry in the summer-season, known by the
 ne of *Old Almond*. *Almond* in its course is cutting the grounds
 wards the north, and the village of *Bertha* which antiently stood
Tay, stands now at the confux of *Almond* and *Tay*, and in a
 years may be carried off, as the *Old Bertha* was, by the waters
 dermining it.

About 15 years ago. a country labouring man, observed the ap-
 rance of an earthen pot, jutting out of the bank, a little above
 surface of the water on the north side, about 160 yards to the
 from *Bertha*; suspecting it to be a pot filled with money, he
 and digged it out, it was closely cemented on the top. Over-
 d with his acquisition, he carried it home with all secrecy, he
 ke it, and was sufficiently mortified to find nothing in it but burnt
 es.

examined this shred of antiquity, now lying in ruins, by means
 avaritious hands. It was the largest *urn* I ever beheld, above
 of an inch in thickness, made of very fine clay of a light brown
 our, plated on the inside with brass almost consumed, and covered
 in verdugrease, it contained about ten English gallons. I have in
 custody a bit of the *brass* and *urn*. I observed on the face of
 bank, six semicircular pillars of earth about eighteen feet in
 ht from the surface of the ground to the bed of the river, the
 h of these pillars is quite different from that of the bank, being
 a dark hazel colour, the earth of the bank is reddish. Round
 had been dug out; the *urns* deposited at the bottom, and filled
 with a mixture of glutinous earth rammed down.

About two years after, I observed another pillar making its ap-
 rance, after an inundation, of the river which had washed away
 of the bank, about 150 yards on the west side of *Bertha*. This
 overy was communicated to a learned and inquisitive gentleman of
 th. We went to the place, got a fishing-boat, and by the assistance
 country man, who, by our directions, digged cautiously at the bot-
 of the pillar, we found a small *urn*: But, notwithstanding of
 our care and caution, he broke it with his spade, the contents

were

We went a shooting both through plain and park,
 And never stay'd till we came to *Lows-wark*;
 Built by our mighty Kings for to preserve us,
 That thencefurth waters should not drown, but serve us ;

were a few ashes of oak-wood, and part of a *lachrymatory*, which was a small glass-phial the eight of an inch in thickness, this would contain about an English quart and a half; excepting the first all the urns that were found, were of like dimensions with the last described. It is very probable, that as the river washes away the bank, more *urns* may be discovered. These pillars are in lines about ten feet distant from one another.

If I may be indulged a conjecture, there is reason to believe that the Romans had a *castellum* or station near to *Bertha*.

Agricola, after having subdued the *Britons*, determined to fortify that neck of land which divides the two Friths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, to prevent the incursions of the warlike and fierce *Caledonians*; he erected a chain of forts betwixt the two Friths, and left the *ninth legion* to defend them. The *Caledonians* finding themselves straitened by these bulwarks, and cut off from all communication with the *Britons*, in the 7th year of *Agricola's* proconsular government surprized them in the night-time, and after killing the guards, they attacked the camp with their usual bravery.

The *Proconsul* understanding by his spys that the legion was in danger, advanced to their relief. Early in the morning, animated by his presence, they gave a shout, returned to the charge, and repulsed the *Caledonians*, who fled north to their fastnesses in disorder.

Enraged at this insult, the Roman soldiers besought *Agricola* to lead them against the *Caledonians*, he marched accordingly into *Caledonia*. Some vestiges of a *Castellum* remain to this day near *Ardoch*. From this place there is a military road which leads to *Methven*, and goes a little above *Bertha*.

While *Agricola* was in those parts, assembling his army to give battle to *Galgacus*, who at the head of thirty thousand *Caledonians* waited his approach at the foot of the *Grampian mountains*, about thirteen English miles north from *Bertha*. Tacitus informs us, that his father-in-law *Agricola* met with a heavy stroke in the death of his only son, an infant, which greatly afflicted him. Afterwards

et condescending it admits one rill,
 which all these plains with christal brooks doth fill;
 and by a conduit, large *three miles* in length,
 ryes to make *Perth* impregnable for strength,

D 2

At

the army to the foot of the *Grampians*, where a bloody battle
 was fought for a considerable time. Victory sometimes hovering
 over *Agricola*, sometimes over *Galgacus*, the *Romans* fighting for
 glory, the *Caledonians* for life and liberty, untill many of their
 chiefs fell, at last they gave way, and retired in disorder through
 the mountains, and left *Agricola* master of the field.

Aulus Atticus, captain of a Cohort, was a gentleman of rank
 and merit; whither fired with the thirst of glory, or driven by
 the impetuosity of his horse, it is uncertain, he rush'd in among the
Caledonians, and fell, lamented by *Agricola* and the army.

The particular spot where this battle was fought is not certainly
 known; some say, that it is at *Comrie*, others at *Fortingale*; at both
 these places there remain the vestiges of camps, others affirm with
 more probability, that the battle was fought two miles west from
Blairgowry, where are to be seen a very great number of *cairns* or
mulis, where there is an oblong square surrounded by a ditch,
 which they say was the Roman *Vallum*; others affirm, that this
 is a deer-park made by Mr *Blair* of *Glasclune*. Among all these
 assertions and uncertainties, we have small hopes of coming at the
 truth. The greatest probability leans towards *Blairgowry*.

The foot of the *Grampians* was the *ne plus ultra* of the *Romans*.
Agricola returned, and soon after was recalled by *Domitian*.

It is not improbable that the large *plated-urn* found at *Bertha*
 might be the repository of the ashes of *Agricola's son*, and that the
 urn in which we saw the *lachrymatory* might contain the ashes of
Atticus, who would be interr'd with military honours.

Those urns under consideration were but a short way from the
 Roman military road, which (according to tradition) leads to a
 bridge over *Tay*, about a quarter of a mile above *Bertha*. The
 remains of this bridge are seen at low water in the summer-season,
 very large and long square oak-planks ly sunk in the river on the
 bottom. Some of them were lately dug up and raised, but one par-
 ticularly large plank has been attempted in vain. On the streight
 lead from this bridge to *Blairgowry*, near the conflux of *Isa* river
 and

At all occasions when her clowfes fall,
 Making the water mount up to her wall,
 When we had view'd this mighty work at Randon,
 We thought it best these fields for to abandon * :

and *Tay*, is the vestige of an encampment, where a bridge was thrown over *Isla*. It is a problematical question among Antiquaries, whether this at *Bertha*, was a wood-bridge erected on stone-pillars by the Romans, or by the ancient Caledonian Kings, as a communication betwixt *Bertha* and *Seone*, which stands on the opposite bank of the river.—Dr M^rPherson, in the 17th of his critical Dissertations, affirms from ocular demonstration, that many of the *tumuli*, or *cairns*, which are frequent all over the Highlands, had a stone-coffin and an urn of a yellow colour, half full of ashes and burnt bones, in the middle of the coffin; therefore the urns found at *Bertha* may be Caledonian, and not Roman.

To this it may be answered, that the Caledonian urns are found in stone-coffins below *cairns*, but those at *Bertha* are eighteen feet below the surface of the earth without any coffin or *cairn*, and which seems to be decisive; one of the urns at *Bertha* was plated, and rather contained a *lachrymatary*, which was unknown among the *Caledonians*, and peculiar to the *Romans*. I am far from dogmatizing on such doubtful anecdotes, as are some of those I have named and submitted to the publick.

* *Lowfswark*, about half a mile north-west from *Ruthven* castle, now *Huntingtower*, is a very fine stone-building which turns part of the river into an aqueduct that descended and washed the walls of Perth. The citizens of Perth, on any emergency by means of sluices, filled the ditch without the walls to a great height, and rendered the city almost impregnable before the invention of fire-arms. The aqueduct serves to turn the flower, barley, malt, and fuel for the mills of the town of Perth. Among the archives belonging to the town of Perth there is an indenture, dated 4th November 1494, betwixt the deceased William Lord Ruthven, heritable proprietor of the baronies of Ruthven, with the pertinents, and of the deceased William Ruthven his son, and appearing heir, fiar of the said baronie, made betwixt themselves on the one part, and the yeft, bailzies counsell, and communitie of the said burgh of Perth, and umquhill John Eviot of Balhousie, on the other part, anent the milne-lead, water-passage and course of the milnes of

and turning home, we spar'd nor dyke nor fowlsie,

till we came unto the *Boot of Bowlsie* *,

longst this aqueduct, and there our station,

we made and view'd *Balhoufie's* situation.

Looking all that spacious pleasant valley,

with flowers damasked, leuell as an alley,

betwixt and Perth, thither did we repair,

for why the season was exceeding fair :))

When all alongst this valley did we hye,

and there the place we clearly did espye,

the precinct, situation, and the stead,

where ended was that cruel bloody fead,

Between

burgh, and anent the reparations and upholding of that work
ed Louis-work, which is the reteiner and closer of the said
ne-lead, with divers other heads contained in the said indentar.
to another indentar dated in November 1513, betwixt William
ed Ruthven, John Eviot of Balhoufie, and the Magistrates of
th, for upholding of Louis-work which was lately built.

The boot, or bould of Balhoufie, is a strong stone-work on the
bank of the aqueduct, in which is a round hole with a ring of
at both ends, thirty-two inches round for conveying water
in the aqueduct to the mill of Balhoufie, by contract and agree-
ment betwixt the *Eviots* of Balhoufie and the town of Perth. In
archives of the town the following contract is recorded. This
venture maid at Perth the 19th June 1464, betwixt the alderman,
lies, counsell, and communitie of Perth, and Richart Eviott of
houfie, the said bowt shall be taen up and newlie maid of threttie
inche of wydnes within at baith the endis, and bandit with iron
within and without at baith the ends. This stone-work was
ly repaired, and the rings adjusted according to the original con-
t, in presence of Commissioners appointed by the *Earl of Ken-*
burgh (now proprietor of Balhoufie, and the *Magistrates of Perth*.
descent of the water into the canal of Balhoufie through the
forms a strong cascade, where people afflicted with rheuma-
s and colds, by bathing, are relieved of their complaints.

Between these cursed clans *Ghattan* and *Kay*,
 Before King *Robert John*, upon the day
 Appointed, then and there, who did convene,
 Thirty 'gainst thirty match'd upon that green,
 Of martial fellows, all in raging mood,
 Like furious *Ajax*, or *Orestes* wood.
 Alonely arm'd with long two-handed swords;
 Their sparkling eyes cast fire instead of words;
 Their horride beards, thrown browes, bristled mustages
 Of deadly blows t' insheiw, were true presages.

Thus standing, fortunes event for to try,
 And thousands them beholding, one did cry,
 With loud and mighty voice, *stay! hold your hands!*
 A little space, we pray, the case thus stands;
 One of our number is not here to day,
 This sudden speech did make some little stay
 Of this most bloody bargain, th' one party fight
 Would not, unless the number were made right
 Unto the adverse faction, nor was any
 That would it take in hand, among so many
 Beholders of all ranks, into that place
 On th' other side, none would sustain disgrace,
 To be debarred from his other fellowes,
 He rather hung seven years upon the gallows.

Thus, as the question stood, was found at length,
 One *Henry Wind*, for tryal of his strength
 The charge would take, a *sadler* of his craft,
 I wot not well, whether the man was daft,

t for an
 outly to
 d if to
 ey shou
 e barga
 heir brai
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 d might
 en fell
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 d of the c
 d sav'd hi
 to speak

Buchana

t for an *half French crown* he took in hand,
 outly to fight so long as he might stand,
 d if to be victorious should betide him,
 ey should some yearly pension provide him,
 e bargain holds ; and then with all their maine,
 eir braikens buckled to the fight again ;
 ontinent the trumpets loudlie sounded,
 d mightilie the great bagpipes were winded :
 en fell they to't as fierce as any thunder
 om shoulders arms, and heads from necks they sunder,
 raging there in blood, they hew'd and hash'd,
 eir skincoats with the new cut were outflash'd ;
 d scorning death, so bravely did outfight it,
 at the beholders greatlie were affrighted ;
 t chiefly this by all men was observed,
 ne fought so fiercely, nor so well deserved
 this their hired souldier, *Henrie Winde*,
 r by his valour, victory inclind
 to that side ; and ever since those dayes
 is proverb current goes, when any sayes,
 w come you here ? this answer doth he finde,
 for mine owne hand, as fought *Henrie Winde*,
 finely fought he, *ten* with him escap't,
 d of the other but *one*, in flood who leap't
 d sav'd himself by swimming over *Tay*,
 t to speak more of this we might not stay *.

Thence

Buchanan informs us, that in the sixth year of the reign of
 Robert

Thence did we take us to the other hand,
 From this divided by a chrystal strand
 From whence the King beheld with open sight,
 The long time doubtfull event of this fight;
 From off his pleasant gardens flowery wall,
 Which we the *gilted arbor* yet do call *.
 And here some monuments we did descry,
 And ruin'd heaps of great antiquity;
 There stood a temple, and religious place,
 And here a palace, but ah! woeful case!
 Where murdered was one of the bravest Kings,
 For wisdom, learning, valour, and such things

Robert the 3d, there was irreconcilable enmity betwixt the *M'Intoshes* and *M'Kays*, two powerfull and fierce clans. The King sent the Earls of Dunbar and Crawford with an army to reduce them to order. They wisely tryed to make up the matter, by proposing to the chiefs to pick out thirty men on each side, and decide the quarrel in the North Inch of *Perth*, in presence of the King, and he undertook, that the conquering party should be honoured by him. They accepted the proposals, thirty on each side were chosen. Their *Chieftans*, they met in a place surrounded by a deep tree around which galleries were built for the spectators. When they were ready to engage, one of the *M'Intoshes* was seiz'd with a palsy and hid himself. This accident stop'd them, till *Henry Winton*, a saddler in *Perth* advanced and offered to supply his place for a French gold-dollar. The terms were accepted; the combat began, and was carried on with redoubled fury on both sides, untill twenty nine of the *M'Kays* were kill'd. The remaining one was wounded, wisely judging that he could not resist the impetuosity of *Henry Winton*, and ten *M'Intoshes* who were left alive, jump'd into the river *Tay*, swam to the other side, and escaped.

* The *Gilt arbor* was situated without the north port, on the north side of the casway leading to Huntingtower, and bounded by the road leading to Mr Gardner's house called *the Faw*, near to that place stood St. Katharine's Chapel. King Robert was a spectator of the bloody combat from the walls of the *arbor* A. D. 1396.

should a Prince adorn ; who trades and arts,
 y men of matchless skill brought to thir parts,
 om *Italy, low Germany, and France,*
 eligion, learning *, policy to advance,
 ing *James the first* of everlasting name,
 ll'd by that mischant traitor *Robert Grahame.*
 ending of his crown for to have rob'd him,
 ith twenty eight wounds in the breast he *stob'd him* †.
 onatural paricide, most bloody traitor !
 cursed be thou, above any creature !
 d curst be all, for so it is appointed,
 at dare presume to touch the Lord's anointed !

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E

This

Guthrie says, that undoubtedly *James* was the most accomplish-
 Prince of his age, in all the branches of literature, then pursued.
 was at great pains to enquire into all the characters and learning
 the several professors, and often honoured their public acts and
 rcises with his presence ; he kept a diary, in which he wrote down
 names of all the learned men, who he thought deserved his pa-
 nage and preferment, and reprov'd with great freedom, such
 rchmen as lived unsuitably to their character. Observing the
 eleless luxury and dissolute lives of the clergy ; he brought over
 thusian Monks, one of the severest orders in the Church of *Rome*,
 whom he endowed and allotted a Monastery at the west end of
 south gate of *Perth*, (where the hospital now stands) and some-
 es resided there.

The Monastery of the *Blackfriars*, with its Church, was found-
 by *Alexander the second*, the son and successor of *William, A. D.*
 11. This stately palace stood without the north wall of *Perth*,
 tle to the north of the tannery ; these lands are to this day cal-
 the *Blackfriars*. Here the first *James* was murdered A. D.
 1567, by *Robert Graham* who gave him twenty eight wounds ; the
 en who flew to his assistance, received two wounds and was car-
 off.



This Phoenix Prince our nation much decor'd,
 Good letters and civility restor'd,
 By long and bloudie wars which were defaced,
 His royal care made them be re-embraced,
 And he this city mightilie intended
 To have enhanc'd, if fates had condescended
 For which, if power answer'd, good-will we would
 With *Gorgias Leontinus*, raise of gold
 A statue to him, of most curious frame,
 In honour of his dear and worthy name.
 He likewise built most sumptuously fair,
 That much renown'd religious place and rare,
The Charterhouse of Perth a mighty frame,
Vallis Virtutis by a mystic name *.

* The Carthusian Monks were established by *Bruno* a Doctor of *Paris*, and Canon of *Rheims* A. D. 1086, in the wild mountains of *Grenoble* in France, under the protection of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. The reason of his retreat, is said to have proceeded from the following accident, which fell out during the funeral-service of *Raymond Dion*, a professor in the university of *Paris* who had been in very great esteem, not only for his doctrine, but also for the apparent integrity of his life: But, as the story goes, the dead corpse, on a sudden, sat upright in the bier, and cryed with a lamentable voice, *justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum*, i. e. *am condemned by the righteous judgment of God*. These words he uttered three several days. *Bruno* being present at this sight, taking occasion from the strangeness of the thing, to make a serious discourse to the assembly, he concluded, that it was impossible for them to be saved, unless they renounced the world. He retired with six of his Disciples to the Carthusian mountains in *Dauphiny* where he was assisted by *Hugo* Bishop of the place, who afterwards became one of his Disciples. They followed the rule of *Benedict* adding thereto several other great austerities.

Looking along that painted spacious field,
 Which doth with pleasure profit sweetly yield,
 The fair South Inch of Perth and banks of Tay,
 His Abbey's steeples; and its turrets stay,

E 2

While

They had no other establishment in Scotland but this at *Perth*,
 called *Monasterium vallis virtutis*, where they settled A. D. 1429,
 according to the Monkish verses,

Annus millenus vicens sicque novenus
 Quadringintenus, Scotis fert munera plenus.
 Semina florum, Germina morum, mystica mella,
 Cum tibi, Scotia, sit Carthusia sponsa novella.

The building was a very fine structure. Its destruction by the
 A. D. 1559 about the beginning of the reformation, was great-
 lamented and resented by the Regent *Mary*, who threatened the
 of *Perth*. *Knox*, violent as he was for the reformation, dis-
 approved of these barbarities in razing noble structures to the
 ground.

Wald de Corda, Vicar of the *Chartrieux* near *Grenoble*, was the
 superior of this monastery. He died A. D. 1434, and was suc-
 ceded by *Adam de Hanglefide* a Scotsman.

The Monks had large revenues assigned to them. *Adam Fore-*
 the last Prior, when the Monastery was demolished, retired
 with his brethren to *Errol*, of which church they were
 sons. There he sewed out to *John Foreman* son and heir of
Robert Foreman of *Luthrie*, for a sum of money, the lands of the
 chapel of *Mary Magdalene*, *Friertown* and *Craigie*, and the south
 of the island below *Perth* with the salmon-fishings.

K. James the sixth afterwards confirmed to *James Moncrieff*,
indum tenorem feudifirma given by the prior and convent of the
Chartrieux Monastery to *John Moncrieff* the 14th of November
 1579, the house, place, and all the lands, orchards and gardens,
 two tenements within *Perth*, and all houses, orchards, gardens,
 walls and bulwarks without the town, belonging to the Monastery,
 and the tythes. This charter is dated at *Leith*, 18th May 1572,
 the 5th of his reign.

He created *George Hay* of *Neither Lyffe* Commendator of the
 Priory

While as they stood (but ah ! where sins abound
 The loftiest pride lies level'd with the ground !)
 Were cunningly contriv'd with curious art,
 And quintessence of skill in everie part ;

Priory of the *Charter-house*, giving all the emoluments belonging to it, together with a *place* and *vote* in parliament; this patent given at *Holyrood-house*. And to support his dignity, the King gave him by another charter dated from the same place, 1st February 1598, of his reign the 32d year, all the ecclesiastical lands of *Errol* with their privileges and pertinents.

But the said *George Hay* finding the rents too small to support the dignity of a *Lord*, returned back to the King his peerage, and resigned his title of *Lord*, in his Majesty's hands, reserving to himself and his heirs, the patronage of the church of *Errol*, which signation, with the reservation, were accepted off by his Majesty. Thus the name of *Lord* and *prior* of the *Charter-house* of *Perth* became extinct *.

The Monks wore a white gown with a capuchin and scapular of the same colour, they did eat constantly in private, except on festal days, when they were allowed to eat together in the same refectory. They wore next to their skin a *cilicium*, or hair-cloath, they observed a constant silence, and never went out of the *cloyster*, the *prior* and *procurator* only excepted. The *laic Brothers* who wore a shorter robe, and beards for distinction, were separated from the *prior* and his brethren in the church, and sat in the *nave* of the church. The rules of the order were exactly observed at *Perth*, as they were abroad,

Mr *Patrick Ruffel*, one of the continuators of *Forduns Scottish History*, was a Monk in the *Charter-house*, the other two were *Malcolm* and *James* *McGulloch* Monk at *Scone*, and the principal author was *William Bower*, or *bow-maker*, Abbot of *Inchcolm*. This Abbot says, that he was in the town of *Perth*, the same night in which *James* *first* was murdered at the *Blackfriars*; and when he heard a rumour of it, he ran to his assistance, but the King was dead before he reached the place. *James* was murdered in November 1437, and on the 20th of February after, according to *Buchanan*. Mr *Rymer*

* Keith's account of the religious houses in Scotland.

My *Grandfire* many times to me hath told it
 He knew their names, this mighty frame who moldit
 Italian some, and some were *Frenchmen* borne,
 Whose matchless skill this great work did adorne,
 And living were in Perth, some of their race
 When that, alas ! demolish'd was this place,
 For greatness, beauty, stateliness so fair
 In *Britane's* isle, 'was said, none might compare.
 Even as *Apelles* for to prove his skill,
 In limning *Venus*, with a perfect quill,
 Did not on some one beauty take inspection,
 But of all beautys borrowed the perfection :
 Even so this Prince, to policie inclinde,
 Did not on some one fabrick set his minde,
 To make the prototype of his designe,
 But from all works, did all perfections bring,
 And rarest patterns brought from every part,
 Where any brave *Vitruvius* kyth'd his art,
 So that this great and princely enterprize,
 Perfections of all models did comprise *.
 And in this place, where he doth buried lye,
 Was kept the reliet wherein he did dye,

His

as published a letter from *James the 2d*, dated the last day of No-
 vember 1437, and the first of his reign. He was buried in the *Car-*
thusian Monastery where he sometimes resided.

* The only reliet of this magnificent structure, is to be seen in
 the carved stones with which the south east porch of *St. John's*
 church is built, now greatly decayed,

His doublet, as a monument reserv'd,
 And when this place was raz'd, it was preserv'd,
 Which afterwards I did see for my part,
 With hols through which he stab'd was to the heart.

Then, good *Gall*, thus quod I, what shew of reason,
 Mov'd this unnatural traitor work such treason?

Reason! good Mr *Gall* did thus reply,

Reason! so much in shew I do deny,

Reason! no reason did he have at all,

But wormwood, bitter malice, *Stygian* gall

Within this traitor's heart did closely lurk,

Which moved him this tragedie to work,

And I would truly tell this woefull storie,

But that my tongue doth faile, mine heart's so forie.

Yet whiles that we unto the town do go

Monfieur, the true occasion will I show,

This worthie Prince, according to the taillie

Made by King *Robert*, when heirs male should faillie,

Of his son *David* then Earle of *Stratherne*,

So soon, I say, the King as he did learne

That heirs male of this *David* were surceast,

Into these lands he did himself invest:

For *David* leaving after him no son,

His lands by right come back unto the crown,

Yet after him one daughter did survive,

In marriage which to *Patrick Grahame* they give,

To whom she bore a son one *Melisse Grahame*

Whose parents dying young, *Robert* did claime,

s uncle, and as tutor of these lands,
 To have the charge devolved in his hands,
 Which when the King most justly did deny
 To give, and gravelie shew the reason why,
 This bloody traitor from his gorge did spew,
 Words treacherous, nor to be spoke, nor true;
 For which he justlie Traitor was declar'd,
 But he the King's authoritie nought car'd,
 But more and more pursuing his intent,
 To *Walter Earl of Athole* streight he went,
 Whom well he knew, to have the like designe
 Above all things for to cut off the King,
 And all the race sprung of *Eliza Murr*,
 With witches did consult, and sp'rits conjure,
 This to effect, and all th' infernal furies,
 With draughts and spells, and such unlawful curies
 At length, he finding that incarnate fiend,
 Believ'd his response should have stedfast end,
 Which was, that he should once before he dye
 The crowned King, with great solemnitie:
 Which came to pass indeed, but not with gold,
 For his familiar sp'rit kept that untold:
 Thus these two traitors cruelly did hatch,
 The treason, which this good King did dispatch.
 Both of these traitors at the crown did aime,
 And one thought his *nephew* might it some time claime
 And he without all question would succeed,
 But well he knew to cut the fatal threed:

Likewise

Likewise that other hell-taught traitor *Walter*,
 Believ'd by no meanes his response could alter,
 Thus both of them fed with ambitious hopes,
 Kept secret by themselves their partial scops,
 But mutually this one thing they intend
 The King must die; and here their thoughts they spend;

But this Earle *Walter* subtile more than th' other,
 His quaint designe 'gan cunningly to smother;
 Observing well the *Grahames* proud haughty braine,
 Greatly aggreg'd the wrongs he did sustaine,
 Affirming that there was none had a heart,
 But would avenged be, and for his part,
 He would assist, and when the turne were ended,
 Against all deadly, *Grahame* should be defended.
 Thus by ambition witch't, and rage demented,
 This traitor execut what was intended,
 Who from the famous *Trojan* had his name,
 And from the woods * when he did hear the same
 Of this infamous fact, at *Edinburgh* then
 Residing, to make peace between these men
 Who of the *Greek* and *Trojans* are descended,
 O how he was intraged! O how offended!
 To see so brave a Prince so traiterouslie
 Cut off, he roar'd and rail'd outragiouslie
 'Gainst all the nation, but when he justice done,
 Had seen upon the traitours, then his tune

* *Aeneas Sylvius*.

quickly chang'd, now have I seen (said he,)

cruel crime revenged cruellie *.

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F

This

* *Aeneas Sylvius* was scribe at the Council of Basil, and wrote the history of that Council A. D. 1432.

Aeneas was at this time in Edinburgh, and saw the execution of the Regicides. He was afterwards the celebrated and learned Pope Sixtus the 2d.

After giving an account of *James's* qualifications and learning, *Buchanan* pronounces his *Eulogium*: "Know then, that after he had learned other parts of philosophy, he studied the regulation of kingdoms, and the manners of men. How great and how ripe his abilities for civil government were, sufficiently appear by the acts performed by him and by the laws which he made, by which he not only benefited himself, but became a benefactor of posterity, &c." The nobles as soon as they heard of his being murdered, came of their own accord from all quarters, and before a tryal was regular-decreed, they sent every where to apprehend the Regicides, and bring them to justice. Many were taken, and hang'd. The chief aids in perpetrating this villainy, were reckoned to be *Walter Earl Atholl*, *Robert* his grandson, and their kinsman *Robert Graham*. *Walter's* punishment, as he was reckoned the chief conspirator, was inflicted on three successive days. On the first day, he was placed on a cart, in which, a storklike engine was erected, and by ropes through pulleys, he was hoisted up on high, the ropes being suddenly let go, he fell down, but stop'd near the ground with intolerable pain, by the luxation of his joints. Then he was set on a gallery that every one might see him, and a red hot iron crown set on his head with this inscription,

The KING of all TRAITORS.

On the second day, he was bound upon a hurdle and drawn at a horse's tail through the principal street of *Edinburgh*.

On the last day, he was laid upon a plank in a conspicuous place, his bowels were cut out, while he was alive, and thrown into the fire before his face; afterwards his heart was pull'd out, and cast into the same fire. His head was cut off, exposed to the view of the people, and set on a pole in the highest place of the city. His body was divided into four quarters, which were sent to be hang'd up in the most noted places of the principal cities of the kingdom.

After him, his grandson was brought forth to suffer, but because



of

This tragick task, *Monfieur*, in hand to take,
 Mine eyes do melt in tears, mine heart-strings crake,
 What ! shall I speak of *Priam* King of *Troy*,
 By *Pyrrhus* kil'd ? that cannot much annoy,

of his youth, they would not put him to so much pain, besides he was not the author, but only an accomplice, being under the direction of his grandfather, therefore he was only hang'd and quartered. But

Robert Graham who perpetrated the villainy with his own hands was carried in a cart through the city, and his right-hand nailed to a gallows set up in the cart, the executioners came and run iron spikes into his thighs, arms, and other parts farthest removed from the vitals, and then he was quartered. After this manner, was the death of *James* revenged. Barbarous indeed ! and which exceeds the bounds of *humanity*.

James the 2d succeeded, the younger of *twins* the half of whose face was perfect scarlet. Humanity shudders at the above narration of the treason, and execution of the *King's uncle*, and we can scarcely believe but that both are exaggerated beyond the truth.—

Let us now hear the origin of this tragical scene from the elegant pen of the justly admired Dr *Robertson*, who never descends to retail historical *minutiae*, but teaches us to examine the origin of public transactions whether good or bad.

“ The civil transactions in Scotland are better known since the beginning of the reign of *James I.* and a compleat series of laws, supplies the defects of our historians. The English made some amends for their injustice in detaining that Prince a prisoner, by their generous care of his education. During his long residence in England, he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system, in a more advanced state, and refined from many of the imperfections which still adhered to it in his own kingdom. He saw their nobles great, but not independent ; a King powerful ; tho' far from absolute ; he saw a regular administration of government ; wise laws enacted ; and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks of men were accustomed to obey them. Full of these ideas, he returned into his native country, which presented to him a very different scene. The royal authority never great, was now contemptible, having been so long delegated to regents. The antient patrimony

shall I of brave *Julius Cæsar* tell,
Whom these two traitors did in senate kill?
These may affect us with some small compassion,
But for to speak of this, is a tentation.

F 2

Cæsar

revenues of the crown, were almost totally alienated. During his long absence, the name of a King was little known, and less regarded. The licence of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Universal anarchy prevailed. The weak were exposed to the rapine and oppression of the strong. In every corner some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the King nor obeyed the people."

"James was too wise a Prince to employ open force to correct such inveterate evils. Neither the men, nor the times would have borne it. He applied the gentler and less offensive remedy of laws and statutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of his people, by many wise laws, tending wholly to re-establish order, tranquillity and justice in the kingdom. But, at the same time that he endeavoured to secure these blessings to his subjects, he discovered his intention to recover those possessions of which the crown had been unjustly bereaved; and for that purpose obtained an act by which he was empowered to summon those, who had obtained crown-lands during the three last reigns to produce the rights by which they held them. As this statute threatened the property of the nobles, another which passed in a subsequent parliament, aimed a dreadfull blow at their power. By it, the leagues and combinations, which we have already described, and which rendered the nobles so formidable to the crown, were declared unlawful. Encouraged by this success in the beginning of his enterprise, James's next step was yet bolder, and more decisive. During the sitting of parliament, he seized at once, his cousin Murdo Duke of Albany, and his sons; the Earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other barons and peers of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his sons, and Lennox. These were tried by their peers, and condemned; for what crime is now unknown. Their execution struck the whole order with terror, and their forfeiture added possessions to the crown. He seized likewise the earldoms of Buchan and Strathern, upon different prettexts; and that Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the

Cæsar for valour, learning, and meek mind;

And ah? too much like Cæsar in his end.

Excusa Moi, Monsier, mine heart's so sorie,

That I can tell you no more of this storie.

the nobles, while the King was proceeding so rapidly towards aggrandizing the crown, are amazing. The only obstruction he met with was from a slight insurrection headed by the Duke of Albany youngest son, and that was easily suppressed. The splendor and presence of a King, to which the great men had been long unaccustomed, inspired reverence: James was a Prince of great abilities, and conducted his operations with much prudence. He was in friendship with England, and closely allied to the French King. He was adored by the people, who enjoyed unusual security and happiness under his administration: And all his acquisitions, however fatal to the body of the nobles, had been gained by attacks upon individuals; were obtained by decisions of law; and being founded on circumstances peculiar to the persons who suffered, might excite murmurs and apprehensions, but afforded no colourable pretext for general rebellion. It was not so with the next attempt which the King made. Encouraged with the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, he ventured upon a measure which irritated the whole body of the nobility, and which the event shews either to have been entered into with too much precipitancy, or to have been carried on with too much violence. The father of George Dunbar Earl of March, had taken arms against Robert III. the King's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands restored by Robert Duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, and that it was the prerogative of the King alone to pardon treason, or to alienate lands annexed to the crown, obtained a sentence declaring the pardon to be void, and depriving Dunbar of the earldom. Many of the great men held lands by no other right, than what they derived from grants of the two Dukes of Albany. Such a decision, though they had reason to expect it in consequence of the statute which the King had obtained, occasioned a general alarm. Tho' Dunbar was at present the only sufferer, the precedent might be extended, and their titles to possessions, which they considered as the rewards of their valour, might be subjected to the review of courts of law, whose forms of proceeding, and jurisdiction, were in a martial age little known and extremely odious. Terror and discontent spread fast upon the

discover

en I think with what gravitie and grace
 s tragedie was told, tears weet my face ;
 I do wish good *Gall* thou were on live,
 at with *Maonian* stile thou mightst deserve
 h memorable acts, or else thy spirit
 ome new body plac'd, it to inherit :
 me ! this cannot be, which makes me cry,
 , sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die ?

The

every of the King's intentions : The common danger called on
 whole order to unite, and to make one bold stand, before they
 e stripped successively of their acquisitions, and reduced to a
 e of poverty and insignificance. The prevalence of these senti-
 ts among the nobles encouraged a few desperate men, the friends
 ollowers of those who had been the chief sufferers under the
 g's administration, to form a conspiracy against his life. The
 uncertain intelligence of this was brought him, while he lay in
 camp before Roxburgh castle. He durst not confide in nobles,
 whom he had given so many causes of disgust, but instantly dis-
 ed them and their vassals, and retiring to a monastery near
 th, was soon after murdered there, in the most cruel manner.
 our historians mention with astonishment, this circumstance of
 king's disbanding his army, at a time when it was so necessary
 his preservation. A King, say they, surrounded with his ba-
 s, is secure from secret treason, and may defy open rebellion.
 those very barons were the persons whom he chiefly dreaded ;
 it is evident, from the review of his administration, that he had
 ater reason to apprehend danger than to expect defence from
 r hands. It was the misfortune of James, that his maxims and
 ners were too refined for the age in which he lived. Happy !
 he reigned in a kingdom more civilized ; his love of peace, of
 ce, and of elegance, would have rendered his schemes success-
 and instead of perishing because he had attempted too much, a
 efull people would have applauded and seconded his efforts to
 rm and to improve them."

The MUSES THRENODIE.

The SECOND MUSE.

BUT this sad melancholick disquisition,
 Did not besit our jovial disposition,
 In these our days: therefore when we had mourned
 For this good *King*, we to the town returned,
 And there to cheere our hearts, and make us merrie,
 We kindly tasted of the noble berrie;
 Melancholie and grief are great men-killers:
 Therefore from *Tamarisk*, with some capillars
 Infusde we drank, for to preserve our splens
 From grief, our lungs from cough, and purge our reins;
 But this receipt *Gall* did not keep alway,
 Which made him die, alas! before his day.

Then home we went, into our beds to rest us
 To-morrow again we to the fields addrest us;
 And in my bed as I did dreaming ly,
 Me thought I heard with mighty voice, one cry,
 Arise, *Monfier*! the day is wondrous fair
Monfier, arise; then answered I, who's there?
 Arise, *Monfier*, the third time did it call
 Who's there? quoth I, it is I Master *Gall*,
 Then I awoke, and found it so indeed,
 Good-morrow, Mr *Gall*, *Monfier*, God speed.

E. And Mr *Gall*, dreams did me much molest
 As night, and almost rave me of my rest,
Monfieur, quoth *Gall*, what motion might that be?
 I, I dream'd I was in archerie,
 Match'd so far, that I was striken dumbe,
 Very grief to be so overcome,
Monfieur, said he, that's been a mightie passion,
 That hath you striken dumb in such a fashion.
 Passion so great that I did sweat,
 Sinews tremble, and my heart did beat.
 Length, respiring, these few words did speak,
 Noble heart of force, now must thou break !
 To these days was never in this land
 That did o'ercome this matchless maiden hand ;
 And dreaming, as I judg'd with Mr *Gall*,
 Continently a voice on me did call,
Monfieur, arise: then I awoke,
 And found it was *Gall's* voice unto me spoke,
 Which made me doubt if so could come to passe :
 Then answer'd *Gall*, altho' your bow were brasse,
 That might be done; and I'm the man will do it,
 That say you *Gall*? quod I, then let us to it.
 With which we dress'd us in our archer grath,
 And to the fields we came, like men in wrath :
 When we our nerves and tendons had extended,
 Continently our bowes were bravely bended :
 The skie was wondrous cleer, *Apollo* fair,
 Greatly delighted to behold us there :

And

And did disperse the clouds, that he might see
 What matchless skill we prov'd in archerie,
 The cristal river *Phæbus*' beams reflected,
 As glad of us, them in our face directed :
 The flowerie plains, and mountains all the while
 That we were shooting merrilie did smile.
 Mean while, for honours praise, as we were swelting
 The sweat from off our brows and temples melting,
Phæbus, as seeming to envie our skill,
 His quiver with some fierie shafts did fill,
 And from his silver bow, at us he darted
 These shafts, to make us faint and feeble hearted :
 Whose mighty force we could not well oppose,
 Under a shade we therefore did repose
 A pretty while, hard by a silver streame,
 Which did appeare some melodie to frame,
 Running alongst the snow-white pibble stones
 Mourning, did murmur joys, commix't with moanes.
 A cup I had with *woodbind of the wall*,
 And drinking said, this to you Master *Gall*.
 Quoth he, *Monfier*, since that we have no better,
 With all mine heart, I will you pledge in water.
 This brook alongst the flowrie plain meanders,
 And in a thousand compasses it wanders ;
 And as it softly slides so many wayes,
 It sweetly sings as many roundelayes,
 And harmonie to keep, the honie bees
 Their trumpets found amongst the flowers and trees,

Their
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Their shadowes from their shaggie tops down sending
 bow, in token of their homage rendring :
 in short while *Phœbus* his face withdrew,
 then freshly fell we to't again of new ;
 In Kyth most skilful and most pleasant game,
 While to the lands of *Loncartie* we came ;
 Then thus, quod I, good *Gall*, I pray thee show,
 clearly all antiquities yee know :
 What mean these skonfes, and these hollow trenches,
 throughout these fallow fields and yonder inches ?
 And these great heaps of stones like piramids,
 subtlest all these ye knew, that so much reads :
 These trenches be (*Gall* answering, did reply,
 where these two armies Scots and Danes did ly
 camped, and these heaps the trophies be,
 set in memorial of that victory,
 which look'd for, conquest in that day,
 with' only virtue of a hyndsman, *Hay*,

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G

And

* *Loncarty* stands north from *Perth* about two and a half com-
 ed miles, and is famous for the decisive battle gained by the Scots
 over the Danes, in the reign of *Kenneth III.* towards the close of
 the 10th century. The victory was in a great measure owing to the
 valor of one *Hay* and his two sons who were ploughing in sight of
 the engagement. *Buchanan* informs us, that the Danes were victo-
 rious, untill *Hay* and his two sons came up, and turned back the fu-
 ry of the Scots, who fell upon the Danes with redoubled fury, anima-
 ted by *Hay*. They drove the Danes into the river. There is great
 probability that there had been several separate engagements from
 the situation of the *tumuli* or burying places. That these were re-
 mains of the dead, has been confirmed of late by *Mt Sandeman's*
 excavations. On leveling severals of them which lay within the
 new

And his two sons from whence immortal praise
 He gain'd, and glory of his name did raise *
 To all succeeding ages : as is said
 Of *Briareus* an hundred hands who had,

Where

new inclosures, humane bones were found, particularly upon a rising ground separated by a small vale, from another rising ground called *Turn again hillock*, where it is said, the sly Scots retreated to the charge. There were six or seven *tumuli* on the top of the ground which, in 1770, were levelled by Mr Sandeman; it appeared evidently that the earth had been artificially thrown up to cover dead bodys laid together. About three hundred yards east there was a large *tumulus* removed, as it stood on the new road; here were found skeletons almost entire, not above two and a half below the surface, the earth above them was a light gravel. In this place some rough stones were laid together in form of a coffin, in which were found humane bones mingled with the bones and teeth of horses. In summer 1771, Dr Boswell physician at Edinburgh was at Loncarty, and saw a *tumulus* removed, he examined the human bones, and carried to Edinburgh a jaw-bone almost fresh teeth. About seven hundred yards south, near the bank of the river stand eight *tumuli* in a direct line from east to west. In the front of these stands a large *tumulus* next to the river; at a little distance a large unpolished stone where the Danish General is said to be buried, and seems to be placed in the middle of the Danish camp; there is to be seen on the land-side, the remains of a long oval part of earth; at the east end of these eight *tumuli* stand some small houses, which to this day are called *Danemark*. Near to this place in a field cultivated by Mr Sandeman, was dug up, about four years ago, the handle and part of the blade of a sword which was found by the Earl of Kinnoul. At the side of the rising ground first mentioned, near to the vale which separates it from *turn-again hillock* is a small rising ground surrounded on the top with a fosse, which was probably was a guard-place for a small detached party. It was not till of late years, that a boy searching for honey below one of the *tumuli* at the west-end, having seen a ground-bee enter there, he dug out a human scull full of honey-combs. The discoveries here mentioned are owing to Mr Sandeman's improvements of ground which lay uncultivated for centuries. Buchanan informs us,

erewith he fought, or rather as we see

liant *Sampson* whose activitie,

in his asse-bone kills thousands, or a *shangar*

in his ox-goad kills hundreths, in his anger :

G 2

Even

authority we know not, that Kenneth ordered Hay to enter
(it should be *Bertha*, for *Perth* was not founded till more
two hundred years after this battle) in triumph with the yoke
erewith he fought, surrounded by the victorious army, where the
raised him from the Plebeian rank to that of the noble, with
gift of a considerable territory to support his dignity. From
springs the illustrious Hays of Errol, Tweedale, Kinnoul, &c.
Lancarty deserves to be remembered on another account. A
extensive usefull and flourishing bleachfield, is laid down,
the linnen-cloaths of all kinds are bleached after the Dutch and
manner to great perfection. The indefatigable industry and
of William Sandeman and company has got over almost insur-
mountable obstacles. Lancarty was the property of the Omeys,
after them the Chapmans, and is now annexed to Mr Grame's
of Balgowan. The mansion-house stood in a morass almost
inhabitable, it was call'd the Myretown of Lancarty. Since Mr
Graham farmed it, the Morass is no more. Instead of a quag-
mire we see the house surrounded with lawns, orchards, grass-
lands, corn-fields and bleaching greens, at the skirts, clumps of va-
rious kinds of useful trees rising in view. In place of dreary huts,
we behold well built and commodious villages, for the comfortable
accommodation of the labouring servants.

to restrain the united rivers of Shocky and Ordy from overflow-
ing the bleaching greens in time of inundations, Mr Sandeman has
altered the course of these rivers, and sent them into Tay by a new
channel, and has converted the old channel into a neat canal for the
use of his mills.

his works were much retarded by scarcity of water in summer-
time. It was thought, he formed a plan of conveying water to his fields and
from Tay by a canal above two miles long. He was not inti-
mided by a rock of granite in his way. With immense expence
and labour, he excavated the rock, fixed a sluice on the cavity,
and he might have the command of the water, when the river swell-
ed. The canal is finished to the astonishment of many who pro-
nounced

Even so this war-like wight with oxens yolk
 Beats squadrons down by his undaunted stroke,
 And did regain the victorie neere lost,
 Unto the *Scots*, by his new gather'd host,
 Of fearfull fleers, in a woful plight,
 By his encouragements infusing might
 Into their nerves, new spirits in their arters,
 To make them fight in blood, unto the garters,
 Against their hatefull foes, who for to be
 Did fight, more than for price or victorie,
 Such cruelties their bloudie hearts possesse,
 To have old quarrels on us *Scots* redrest,
 For utterly quell'd *Pights*, and for their own
 Armies by us so often overthrown
 This worthie chieftains happy enterprize,
 Which sav'd this countrie from the tyrannies
 Of cruel *Danes*, and his two *Mars*-like sons,
 Do for all ages wear the quernal crowns,
 Like *Thrasibulus*; ever bluming bayes,
 Do add much splendor to the worthie *Hayes*.
 And alwayes since, they for their weapons weild,
 Three rubrick targets in a silver shield.
 Which shield the soaring falcon doth sustaine.
 To signifie these three men did obtaine

nounced it impracticable. This is a great acquisition to his
 ing greens and machinery. Mr Turnbull's skill and exper
 bleaching through its progressive operations, and his unwea
 perintendency over a great number of servants in their
 spheres, merits praise and encouragement.

he publick safetie, and the falcon's flight
 y mounting, shews their worth; by lighting right,
 nto their lands; for honours high regard;
 hich in all ages should have due reward.
 ke all shall finde, who loyal to the state
 nd countries well do prove, tho' small or great:
 en shall them praise, God shall preserve their stemmes,
 mortal fame shall canonize their names.
 Thence forward went we unto *Campsie Lin**,
 om whence the river falling makes such din
 s *Nilus Catadups*: there so we sported,
 is impossible for to report it:
 hither we walk'd, or did we sit, or stand,
 quiver was tied to side, and bow in hand;
 o that none thought us to be mortal wights,
 ut either *Phæbus* or fair *Phæbe's* knights:
 here we admir'd to see the salmond leap,
 nd over-reach the waters mighty heap.
 hich from a mountain falls, so high, and steep,
 nd tumbling down devals into the deep,
 aking the boyling waters to rebound,
 ke these great surges near by *Greenland* found,
 t these small fish o'ercome these wat'rie mountains,
 d kindly take them to their mother fountains.

With

to his
 exper
 nwear
 their
 The Lin of Campsie about three miles above Loncarty is a
 ve of rocks which lies across Tay, and forms an agreeable cas-
 e, over which the salmon leap with great velocity, and sweep to
 h Tay, they have several other waterfalls in their course thro'
 erent rivers, unto the places where they were spawned.

With what affection everie creature tenders
 The native soil ! hence comes, great *Jove*, remembers
 His cradle *Greet*, and worthie more than he,
 Let th' idle *Cretians* at their pleasure lie,
 Even these most worthie Kings of mighty race,
 Come of great *Fergus* *, long to see the face
 Of their dear *Caledonia*, whose soyle,
 Doth make their kindly hearts within them boyle,
 To view these fields where martial men of arms,
 Great monuments have rais'd with loud alarms
 Of thundring trumpets, by a hundred kings
 And seven one queen ; what antient poet sings,
 The like descent of princes, who their crowns
 And scepters have bestow'd upon their sons,
 Or neereft kinsmen ? neither is it fo
 That this continued line had never foe
 To interrupt the same, witness these standers
 That bear the Roman *Eagle*, great commanders
 Of most part of the globe, and cruel Danes
 Victorious elsewhere, but not in our planes,

* The first *Fergus* is here to be understood. James the sixth ordered these words to be painted on the cieling of the great hall in his palace at Falkland.—*Centum et sex proavi, hac nobis invicti dederunt.*—Modern historians have, with great shew of reason, assigned over to the fabulous age all our King's preceeding the *Fergus*, who mounted the throne A. D. 404, when the Romans were preparing to evacuate the island. They bade a final adieu to it about twenty six years after, and returned to defend the empire against the irruptions of the northern nations who overruined the empire, and settled in it about forty six years after. During the latter times of the fabulous period we have no lights to guide us but short and imperfect quotations from the Roman writers.

rights and old Britans, more than these to tell,
 Who in the compasse of this island dwell,
 But praise be God, Britane is now combine,
 In faith and truth, one King, one God, one minde.

Let scoffers say that neither wine nor oyle,
 Whose want stay'd conquest) growes within this soyle,
 Yet if gold, pearl, or silver better be *,
 As most men them account, it doth supplie;
 And things more needful for mans use it yeelds
 Herds, flocks, and cornes abound here in our fields,
 Wild beasts in forests of all kinds in plentie,
 And fowls, fruits, fishes, and what else is daintie;
 Perpetual fire, to speak it in a word,
 As like no where is found, it doth afford.
 As Providence divine hath it ordained,
 That humane commerce may be entertained,
 As soyls should have, yet none brings all things forth,
 As grounds most barren oft have greatest worth,

Contained

Pigs
 The Scottish gold dug out of Crawford muir, and other places, was
 coined very fine, and was coined by our Kings, a piece of this
 with the effigies of the second James lately dug out of a gar-
 belonging to St Anne's chapel on the east of the grammar school
 al, I have in my custody.
 The Dutch who purchase great quantities of our lead, extract
 silver from that valuable commodity; our mountains also pro-
 duce black lead ore.
 Almost, all our rivers swarm with the pearl oyster, a great many
 pearls fished out of Tay, Almond, Isla, north and south Esk,
 were sent to London about the time of the present King and
 his coronation.
 The ravenous beasts, excepting foxes and pole-cats, are now to be
 found in our forests.

Contained in their bowels, this to tell us,

Non omnia producit omnis tellus * :

Hence comes that men their gold for yron change,

And so, far from their native countrys rainge,

Their softest silk for coarsest canvasse give,

Because by commerce men do better live,

Then by such things their native grounds forth measure,

By traffike they do find more gain and pleasure;

Yea, things more simple, much more useful are,

And for man's well more profitable far.

Thus yron serves for all brave arts, much more

Than gold, let *Midas* heap it up in store;

And canvasse serves for ventrous navigation,

Where silks are only for cloths green sick fashion;

And tho' wine glad the heart, yet stirs it strife,

But grain the staffe is which sustains our life :

So humane fellowship to entertaine,

Our fishes and our cornes bring oile and wine.

But above all our soyle throughout all parts,

Bears bravest Chieftains with couragious hearts :

These be the bar of conquest and the wall,

Which our most hateful foes could never scall.

Would you behold one *Hannibal* o'erturne

Fourscore of thousands, look to *Bannockburne*,

* No country produces every commodity.

would you see Xerxes his overthrow,
and flight by boat; Edward the second know *:

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* On the 10th of July A. D. 1296, John Baliol made a cowardly surrender of his person, crown, and kingdom at the castle of Berwick in the hands of Edward the first. Early next year Wallace makes his appearance, and was a thorn in Edward's sides, during seven years. To retain in his interest Robert Bruce Lord of Anandale, and red John Cumin Lord of Badenoch, both descendants of David Earl of Huntingdon, Edward amused them separately, with empty promises of investing them in the kingdom. In hopes of the crown, they both adhered to Edward, and opposed Wallace with their power. Bruce openly, and Cumin deceitfully. Wearied with dancing attendance on Edward, Bruce demands the fulfillment of his promise. The haughty King returned the following answer of scorn: *Navons nous autre chose a faire, que de conquerir des royaumes pour vous*, i. e. *Have we nothing else to do but to conquer kingdoms for you*. Bruce retired in a rage. Sometime after, in an interview with Cumin, who perceived him thoughtful and obliged; he took occasion to make mention of Edward's duplicity, and that they were both duped by him and fed with delusive promises. He makes a proposal to Bruce, to resign in his favours all his pretensions to the crown, and to assist him with all his power to recover the kingdom, on condition, that he should resign in his favours all his estates. Bruce agrees, the contracts are sealed, and a sacred secrecy sworn to, Robert returns to the English court. Some time after this, he was advised by his friend the Earl of Gloucester, some say, Montgomery, to make his escape, for Cumin had sent a copy of the contract to Edward, and advised him to destroy Robert. Bruce posts down to Scotland and intercepts a messenger who was sent by Cumin to Edward. He seizes the letter, and was very convinced of Cumin's treachery. He rode to Dumfries and met Cumin at prayers in the Franciscan Church on the eleventh of February. He shews him the letter, and stabs him in the belly. Having afterwards received the Pope's absolution for this murder committed in Holy Church, he repaired to Scone, and on Palm Sunday the 27th March 1306 *, he was crowned amidst a convention of

Hume's history of the Douglasses. Simson's history of the
arts.

of nobles. In June following, he engaged Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke at Methven four miles west from Perth, and was defeated. With his sword drawn, he stood the last on the field, till he saw his surviving friends escape. M'Dougal of Lorn nearly made him prisoner. It is said that the silver-brooch which fastened his plaid was left on the field, and is in the possession of a descendant of M'Dougals'. On the 12th of August he lost another engagement with the Earl of Athol at Dalree. A long time after, he wandered through the Highlands and Isles in disguise with a few select friends, and had little to support him but what James, the 8th Lord Douglas caught by hunting and fishing. Douglas who by Edward was strip'd of all his estates which were given to Lord Clifford, was Robert's faithful *Achates*, and afterwards did him most remarkable service. When Bruce's affairs were judged to be desperate, providence suddenly changed the scene. He, together with Douglas and Walter Lord High Stewart, a young scarcely major, took garrison after garrison in different places in the kingdom. He stormed Perth, and put the garrison to the sword both English and Scots: He razed the walls, and filled up the ditches.

With five hundred men he engaged an army of seven thousand commanded by Pembroke, and routed them at Loudon hill, which so much affected the Earl, that he retired to England, and laid down his commission as warden of Scotland, which the King conferred on John de Bretagne, and created him Earl of Richmond. The interior fortresses were all now in Robert's hands, except Dumbarton and Stirling. A. D. 1313 Edward Bruce sat down before the latter, took the town, and summoned the castle. Sir Philip Moubray offered conditions to Edward, that if the castle was not relieved in twelve months from this date, he would then deliver it up. Edward agreed. Robert bought off Sir John Monteith who got the government of Dumbarton as part of the reward for betraying Wallace under colour of friendship, Dumbarton was delivered up at no less price than the earldom of Lennox, with the consent of Lennox, Robert's trusty friend, where he very narrowly escaped a snare laid for him, which was discovered to him by a Rolland a carpenter in the forest of Colquhoun, who told him that Monteith had concealed a company of soldiers in a wine-cellar who were either to kill or take him prisoner while he was at amusement †. When the keys were delivered to him, he was

* Hume's history of the Douglasses.

† Buchanan.

ough the castle searching every where; he came to the cellar, Governour pretended that the keys were in the blacksmith's hands who would come by and by. Robert ordered the door to be broken open, and he saw the armed men who were brought forth, examined, and put to death; Monteith was imprisoned, but, on account of his great connexions, whom the King was affraid to disgrace, he was set at liberty on these terms, that he should fight on the front of the Scots army. Monteith obeyed, and so signalized himself by his valour and faithfullness in the most dangerous places Bannockburn, that Robert forgave him, and promoted him to honours.

He was vexed when he heard of the transaction betwixt his brother and Moubray; but to save Edward's honour, he formed no designs against Stirling castle.

Roused with Moubray's intelligence, and the rapidity of Robert's successes, Edward the second prepares to relieve Stirling, and make a final conquest of the kingdom: With this view he assembles a prodigious army who were to be followed by a vast multitude, who were to settle in Scotland after the obnoxious inhabitants were exterminated. He marches at the head of above one hundred thousand foldiers, Robert meets him at Bannockburn, two miles below Stirling, with thirty thousand veterans. The day before the battle, Edward dispatched Lord Clifford with eight hundred horse to reinforce Stirling, Robert sent after him Randolph with five hundred horsemen to watch his motions, Clifford wheel'd about and engaged him in front of the two Kings who were encamped on opposite hills, the river Bannock running betwixt the armies, after a long and obstinate dispute, Clifford was defeated, and Randolph returned covered with laurels.

Next day the 22d of June 1314, with great firmness and obstinacy on both sides, this memorable battle was fought. The carnage was horrible; extensive fields were covered with dead bodies. Robert, in the centre, shewed remarkable generalship. His brother Edward, Walter Lord Stewart, Douglas and Randolph Earl of Murray fought like lions on the wings: commanded by such Generals, the impetuosity of the Scots was irresistible. At last Robert obtained a complete and glorious victory, after having slain an indelible number both on the field and in the pursuit. Of the English nobility were slain about two hundred, and almost as many were taken prisoners. Edward perceiving all irrecoverable lost, left the field, agitated with rage and deep grief, and fled at full gallop to Lanbar, where the castle-gates were opened to him by the Earl of March, otherwise he had been taken prisoner by Lord Douglas,

who, with four hundred horse, pursued him above forty miles. *March* embarked the King in a small boat, and landed him in Berwick. Walter Lord High Stewart and Lord Douglas were on this memorable day knighted by the King on the field of battle. Douglas from this time was known by the name of the good *James*, a military honour judged preferable to nobility by descent.

Hume of Godscroft has recorded an anecdote concerning the Flanders knights in King Edward's army among a great number of other foreigners; they heard in the camp much scornful and opprobrious language uttered against Robert and the Scots. They wished Robert good luck. This was reported to Edward. They were both turned out of the English camp, and sent unto the Scottish camp, bidden in scorn to go and fight with them whom they had wished so well, with a price set upon their heads to him who should either kill or take them prisoners in the battle. Their heads were set on poles and they shared in the good luck they had wished. They returned home and built a house in *Antwerp*, naming it *Scotland*, upon which they set up the Scottish arms, and King Robert's statue as a monument of that notable victory, which remained there many years after. Among the multitude of prisoners, there was a Carmelite Friar whom Edward brought with the army, to sing his victory, who was esteemed a good poet for those days. He was brought before the King, who ordered him to sing his victory, as the price of his liberty. Thus he began his song:

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum detrudo, dum tali themate tudo, &c.*

With barren verse this mournful rhyme I make,
And am but laugh'd at, while such theme I take, &c.

John Barbour Archdeacon of Aberdeen has, with great fidelity, handed down the history of Robert and his heroism. His authority passes for Sterling among our modern historians. In a review of what is narrated concerning the battle of Banockburn, we see the propriety of what Ahab told the Syrian King, on a similar occasion in answer to his vain glorying confidence: "not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he putteth it off." For, according to a wise saying of Solomon: "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

Carthaginean towers with all their mights
 destroyed? View *Camelon* with faithlesse Pights*,
 would ye know great Castriot whose bones
 old martial virtue give, dig'd from the stones,

Where

Achais king of Scotland began his reign A. D. 819. In his
 the famous league with Charlemagne king of France was
 e, which began the connexions betwixt Scotland and France,
 subsisted untill the beginning of the 17th century, when James
 became the first British Monarch. Achais married the sister
 Hungus king of the Picts. Alpine the son of Achais succeed-
 to his father, after the two short reigns of Congal and Dongal
 D. 830. Hungus his uncle dying without male-issue, Alpine
 med the Pictish crown in right of his mother, which was abso-
 ly refused, The throne was seized by Feredeth. Alpine en-
 ed him at Restennot about a mile east from Forfar, Feredeth
 slain. His two sons who succeeded one another were equally
 fortunate, and perished, the one by his Subjects, the other, when
 ng from the Scots, by a country man through mistake. A noble-
 named Brudus was raised to the throne. He engaged the
 ts army west from Dundee, routed them, and took Alpine with
 y of his nobles prisoners, and inhumanly put them to death.
 ine's head they fixed on a pole and carried it in triumph thro'
 army, and set it up for a spectacle at Abernethy the royal city,
 ch stands five miles south east from Perth.

A. D. 833. Kenneth ii. succeeded to his father Alpin. Enraged
 the barbaritie of the Picts, in the 5th year of his reign, accor-
 g to the book of Paisley, he engaged the Pictish army at Scone,
 gained a bloody victory. *Druken* the King, with many Pictish
 les fell, as they attempted in vain to repass the river Tay. This
 rthrow put an end to the kingdom of the Picts. Kenneth re-
 ved the bishops See from Abernethy to St Andrews, called *sa-*
reguli, and humbled that stately metropolis, where his father's
 d five years before had been ignominiously fixed. As this was
 final and greatest overthrow of the Picts, we have reason to
 clude that Abernethy is the *Camelon* referred to in the poem,
 not that town at the angle of the Roman wall near Carron,
 ch Bede calls *Guidi*. We learn from Buchanan, that many pla-
 and towns in the united kingdom of Picts and Scots received
 names in the reign of Kenneth.

Where he did buried ly? take for that part
 The *Bruce*, and *Douglas* carrying his heart
 Through many lands intending it to have
 Solemnly buried in the *holy grave* *.

This heart, though dead, within their hearts begetting
 Brave hearts, 'gainst dangers their bold hearts outsetting,
 Would you a King for zeal unto God's house
 Like Israel's *David*? our Saint *David* chuse † :

* This was the æra of chivalry and spiritual Quixotism. *Henry* Bernard was the chief trumpeter in the 12th century, who inflamed all the princes of Europe with enthusiastic madness. They aimed to wrest the Holy Land out of the hands of infidels, and commenced the Millenium at Jerusalem. Robert Bruce was seized with frenzy. Let us hear Buchanan. "The King recommended Lord James Douglas, the performance of a vow which he made to go over into Syria to assist in the holy war against the common enemy of Christianity, and because he was broken with age and infirmities, and could not go in person; he earnestly desired that Douglas would carry his heart, after his decease, to Jerusalem, and bury it in the holy grave." Douglas seized with the disease of knight-errantry, and esteeming the King's command a distinguishing mark of his favour, he prepares a gallant train of young gentlemen, and sets out the next year after the King's death. He arrives in Spain, where he finds the King of Arragon fighting against the Saracens, against whom Douglas was now marching to Syria. He joins the King's troops, and was successful in several engagements. At last, despising the enemy, he encounters them with his own troops alone, he falls into an ambush, and is slain with all his followers, and leaves his own heart, together with Bruce's, in the hands of the Saracens A. D. 1330.

† David the first, youngest son of Malcolm Kenmore succeeded his brother Alexander the first A. D. 1124. he was a soldier, politician and true son of the church, therefore the clergy canonized him. He founded four new bishopricks, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblain. He built the abbacies of Holyrood, Jedburgh, Kelso, Dundrenan, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Melrose, Newbottle, one at Carlisle, another at Newcastle, and two more

know King *James the first*? like Julius Cæsar *,

Gregorie? like *Alexander* †; these are,

h many more, the worthies, whose renown
partial deeds, have kept close this crown;

more to speak of such heroick themes,

o knoweth not the worthy great *King James*

Britain's union *first*? whose virtues great

re more than equal to his royal seat,

ose matchless wisdom, and whose learned quill,

nectar and ambrosia distill,

ravish't with amasement all who heard him,

most for active prudence all admired him.

pie in all his life, whose worthie name,

peaceable *Augustus* did proclaime.

o conquered more by wit, than by the sword,

made all Europe much regard his word †.

Who

besides several religious houses. He empoverished the suc-
ing kings by enriching the clergy, for which he got the name of
David.

James the first is only compared here with Cæsar in his tragi-
death.

Gregory, surnamed the Great, ascended the throne A. D. 868,
as a successful general, a wise politician, a merciful conqueror,
a friend to the clergy. He drove the Picts out of Fife, put
Danes to the sword, and recovered Berwick; he carried his
into Northumberland; he overthrew *Hardicanute* and the
Danish army; he went into Ireland, defeated two generals,
several strong forts; he came to Dublin, and established their
g King his kinsman on the throne; he returned home, and, af-
glorious and successful reign of 18 years, he died in peace.

The above twelve lines might pass in the year 1628; but, in
present year 1773, they are downright banter. The coterpo-
writers and succeeding historians have sufficiently justified this
ark.

James

James was held in contempt by the greatest princes in Europe. Henry the 4th of France ridiculed him; Philip of Spain despised him; Maurice Prince of Orange pitied him; the Dutch paid no regard to him, and insulted his flag; Ferdinand laughed him to scorn, after he had striped Frederick his son-in-law of Bohemia the Palatinate. The large sums of money which he squandered on fruitless embassies, would have done more than restore Frederick to the crown of Bohemia, and his hereditary dominions. So much was his heart set on the Spanish match for his son Charles, that he suffered himself to be duped by Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, who contemptuously said in a letter to the Duke of Lennox "That he had lulled K. James so fast asleep, that he hoped, "neither the cries of his daughter, nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his parliament and subjects in their behalf, "should be able to awaken him." On this account a ludicrous scene appeared in Holland, James laid in a cradle, Gondamore held him asleep, and the Queen of Bohemia with her children, in a begging posture, craving subsistence through the united provinces, the persecuted Huguenots had their dependence on James for religious assistance, and had many promises from him, and nothing else. He wrote to the Duke of Rohan their friend and head, to receive himself and them to the King, as he could be of no service to him. He was all his lifetime more afraid of disobliging the Catholics than the Protestants whom he never loved. If he was the defender of any faith, it was the Roman Catholic. While he was in England, he could not conceal his hatred of the reformers. When he expressed any regard for them, it was all dissimulation. His motto was--*qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*. Lord Bolingbroke says he was incapable of thinking with sense, or acting with spirit. His bishops and favourites, both in Scotland and England, seconded his arbitrary views, which laid the foundation of all the miseries which overwhelmed his successors in the male-line, and divine providence raised to the imperial crown of Britain, the descendants of the rejected Queen of Bohemia, whom he basely abandoned. He learned his arbitrary principles from his tutor and predecessor George Buchanan, whose celebrated treatise, *de jure regni apud Scotos*, written for his instruction, bears witness to this truth. In his *Basilicon doron*, he teaches his son Henry the very principles that ruined his successors; he advises that Prince to suppress the Puritans in both kingdoms, and says to him, "I never found a constant bidding by me in all my straites by any that were of my age in my parents days, but only by such as constantly bore against them, I mean speciallie by them that served the Queene my

d good *King Charles* the son of such a father,
 rice happie by thy virgine crown ; yea, rather
 ore happie, if more happinesse can be,
 earthlie things, by thy high pedegrie ;
 t most of all by Heaven, which hath appointed
 e maiden-crown for thee, the Lords anointed,
 e man of his right hand, and for thy seed,
 hich God mot blesse, and all who shall proceed
 rth of thy loines, and stablsh in thy place,
 long as sun and moone shall run their race,
 en reigne, *Great Charles*, our nostrills sweetest breath,
 ng may thou reigne *Defender of the Faith*,
 thron'd among these worthie peerlesse pearles,
 d let all say, *God save our good King Charles*,

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I

And

her : for so that I discharge my conscience to you my sonne, in
 revealing to you the trewth, I care not what any traitor or treason
 flower think of it *." Mary's servants were generally bigoted
 ifts, and knew no principles of government, but those which set
 Prince above the law. His behaviour to Sir Walter Raleigh,
 betraying the secret of his voyage to Guiana to the Spanish am-
 adador, which was the cause of its miscarriage, and afterwards at
 instigation of Gondamore, bringing that great man to the scaf-
 , are indelible stains on his character. His mean and pedantic
 avour at the Hampton-court conferences betwixt the bishops
 Puritans, the sulsome flatterie of the bishops, demonstrate the
 eness of his soul. These anecdotes, with many more concern-
 this pious and learned prince, are set forth in a striking light by
 Harris, in his critical account of the life and writings of James,
 ed. 1753.

K. James' works, p. 158. ed. folio, and p. 160 at the foot.

And deeplie in his heart imprint that zeale,
 To make the law supreme the people's weall *.
 What shall we speak of martial Chiftans more ?
 Of *Gideons* and of *Sampsons* we have store,
 Whom God did raise for to defend our state
 Miraculouſſie, in times moſt desperate.
 What braver *Heſtor*, or more brave *Achilles*
 In Greece, or Phrygia, than Sir William Wallace † ?

* James died 27th March 1625, Charles ſucceeded him. The poem was written about the beginning of his reign. The nation had conceived great hopes of a happy reign, when this Prince ſcended the throne; but he ſoon diſcovered that he was poiſon'd with the arbitrary principles of his father. His Queen, a daughter of France and a bigotted Papiſt, Wentworth Earl of Stafford and archbiſhop Laud, encouraged him to ſlight his parliament where his ſafety lay, and to diſtreſs and perſecute the whole body of the Puritans. The Iriſh maſſacre, Laud's book of Common Prayer for Scotland, and his book of ſports roused and diſaffected the whole Presbyterian body. All theſe things concurr'd to draw the King into inextricable difficulties, which terminated in his timely death on the 30th of January 1648.

† Heroic virtue ſhines in none of the heroes of antiquity with a purer luſtre, than in Sir William Wallace, and none of them have deſerved better of their country, than he has done. This gentleman was a younger ſon of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie. The Scottish hiſtorians repreſent him, a man of wiſdom, prudence, undaunted courage, a warm aſſertor of the liberties of his country, generous, and brave.

He began to appear after Edward had depoſed John Balliol and carried him priſoner to England, and uſurped the ſovereignty of Scotland. Wallace beheld with diſdain almoſt all the nobles of Scotland meanly bowing the knee, and ſwearing allegiance to the Engliſh king, not excepting the princes of the blood. He boldly made excuſions in diſverſe places, and haraſſed the Engliſh.

and *John the Grahame*, his mate and brother sworn,
 whose living fame his name doth much adorne.

I 2

And

ensibly gathered together a small army, which he commanded with
 itary skill and prudence. His fame was spread abroad, and ma-
 resorted to his standard; among these were several persons of
 inction, such as Earl Malcolm Lenox, Lord William Douglas,
 John Graham, Sir Niel Campbell, Sir Christopher Seton, Sir
 on Ramsay, Sir Fergus Barclay, Andrew Murray of Bothwel,
 William Oliphant predecessor of the Lord of that name; Hugh
 y. Robert Boyd, John Johnston, Adam Gordon, Robert Keith,
 nald Crawford, Adam Wallace, Roger Kilpatrick, Simon and
 xander Frazers, Robert Lauder, — — Scrymzeour constable
 Dundee, Ruthven sheriff of Perth, Alexander Auchinleck, Lun-
 of Lundie, Arthur Bisset, Cleveland Ker, Little, Rutherford,
 n Mr John Blair, who was chaplain to Wallace, and wrote his
 ury in Latin, which was afterwards in the days of James IV.
 lated into Scottish rhyme by one blind *Hary* which is extant,
 le nothing of Blair's history remains excepting a few fragments.
 llace, encouraged with such a number of trusty friends and their
 owers, he boldly attacked and defeated an army of ten thousand
 er the command of the Earls of Warren and Lancaster at Big-
 After this he was chosen warden and governor of Scotland,
 e absence of Baliol at the forest-kirk. In a short time he re-
 tered all the fortresses on the borders. The English dreading his
 dity, and fearing the loss of Scotland, subtilly entered into a
 e with him for a year, commencing in February. In June fol-
 ng, the English governor proclaimed a justice Ayre to be held
 ir and Glasgow, all landed men according to custom assembled
 is court. The English condemned them of felony, and hanged
 immediately, among whom were Sir Ronald Crawford sheriff
 ir and uncle to Wallace, Sir Bryce Blair, Sir Niel Montgo-
 e, besides many of the barons of Kyle, Cunningham, Carriek
 Cliddesdale, some escaped and advertised Wallace who was on
 ay to the court. He advanced quickly, and in the night-time
 re to the town, and burnt the English, few escaped. He pro-
 ed to Glasgow, and repulsed Lord Henry Piercie with great
 nter. He took the castle of Stirling, recovered Argyle and
 ; he laid siege to and took the town of Perth; he proceeded
 , and made himself master of all the fortresses in Angus and

Merns

And if we list this subject more to handle,
 What governour like good Earl *Thomas Randle*?
 Or doughty *Douglass* with courageous heart.
 Whose name wrought dreadful terror in each part?

Merns; he advanced to Aberdeen and found the city set in flame by Lord Henry Beaumont who fled to England. Beaumont married the heretrix of Buchan a daughter of Cumin.

Wallace on his return sat down before the strong castle of Dundee, while he was vigorously carrying on the siege, news came of the approach of 30,000 English and Scots commanded by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Hugh Cressingham; Wallace, with 10,000 hardy men, met with them on the north side of Forth near to Stirling. He ordered the wooden bridge to be weakened by cutting some of the planks; he suffered the one half of the army to pass the bridge which fell down with the heavy baggage; he immediately fell on the troops that had passed and cut them to pieces with Sir Hugh Cressingham their commander. Many were drowned in the river. Earl Malcolm Lenox governor of Stirling issued out and joined Wallace, they jointly attacked the Earl of Surrey, who narrowly escaped and fled to the castle of Dunbar commanded by the Earl of March who was in the English interest. After this victory, Wallace marched to Perth where he held a convention of the states, settled the whole country, and took an oath of the nobility to be faithful to the state, untill such time as they should condescend to be King. The Earl of March refused to acknowledge the authority of this convention, and was driven out of Scotland. For some years the lands were left uncultivated, a famine ensued, which was followed with a pestilence. To relieve the country, Wallace led his troops into England, and wintered there, living on the spoils of the enemy.

In the spring following, Edward met him with a huge undisciplined army on the plains of Stanmure; but, perceiving the order and discipline of the Scotch troops, fearing to hazard an engagement, he retreated. Wallace suspecting an ambuscade, with caution he restrained the army from pursuing the King. Peace was concluded for five years. Berwick and Roxburgh were delivered up to the Scots.

During this peace, Wallace, on invitation from Philip the

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this heroic theme so passing great,
 possible it is all to relate,
 worthy rulers even unto thir days,
 they do not want their own deserved praise ;

Nor

et in flau sail for France with fifty of his officers. He was encountered
 the way by Thomas of Chartres, commonly called Thomas of
 Longueville, who, with sixteen sail, infested the seas, and spread
 for every where. When he drew near on the head of his ships,
 Wallace gave orders to strike sail, and every person to go below,
 Longueville, with sword in hand, boarded the ship, Wallace dis-
 tressed him ; and, tho' he was a very stout man, he laid him on the
 deck, when Longueville understood in whose power he was, he sub-
 mitted, and on Wallace's promising to procure his pardon from
 Philip, he gave orders to his officers to follow the Scotch ship in-
 to Rochelle, where they arrived with the Scottish flag hoisted.
 Wallace repaired with Longueville to Philip, who, at his request,
 not only pardoned, but knighted him : He continued ever after a
 faithful friend to Wallace, and attended him to Scotland, fought
 all his battles, and after his death, was a faithful friend to Ro-
 bert Bruce after he ascended the throne. His posterity continued
 in Perthshire, of whom we shall hear afterwards. Wallace
 said to have commanded in the French King's army against the
 English in Guienne. Edward, under pretence that Wallace had
 broken the truce, musters an army of forty thousand men, and
 prepares to invade Scotland. Wallace being advertised of the
 King's preparations, returns and assembles an army of thirty thou-
 sand, and meets Edward at Falkirk *. The Scottish army was drawn
 in three divisions, commanded by the warden, Sir John Stewart
 Buncle brother to James, the seventh lord high steward of Scot-
 land †, and John Cumin of Badenoch and Dalswinton. Wallace
 knew not that Edward had found means by his emissaries to stir up
 Stewart and Cumin against him. As warden and commander in
 chief, he claimed a right to lead the van of the army, Stewart re-
 senting his brother, asserted his right and privilege of the
 high steward's family, that altho' Wallace had extraordinary
 merit, but being a creature of the people's making, he ought not
 to

22d July 1298.

† Simson's history of the Stewarts.

Nor shall they for my part want due renown,
Virtue t'advance and vice to trample down.

There

to invade the privilege of the lord high steward, and compared him to an owl *, which, from his original, had begg'd a feather from every bird, by which, being richly plumed, he advanced himself above them all. This fatal and ill timed contention was followed with dismal consequences. Under these unhappy circumstances, Edward began the charge; after a small shew of resistance, Cumine marched off with ten thousand men without stroke of sword. Stewart with his division stood a violent shock, and fought with great magnanimity; but Robert Bruce, with his Squadron, fetching a compass round a hill, fell upon his rear. Wallace observing him sustaining the whole heat and weight of the engagement, hastened to his aid; but, before he could advance to him, he was oppress'd with multitudes; and having performed wonders, was kill'd, as were also Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and M'Duff, grand uncle to Duncan Thane of Fyffe, with many thousands about them. Wallace, after exerting the conduct of an able general, was forced to retreat over Carron, where he and Bruce standing on opposite banks of the river had an interview. Bruce reproached him with aspiring to the sovereignty, and with madness in opposing Edward and the best part of the barons of Scotland, which was denied by Wallace, who told him, that he very well knew that the right and title belonged to him, who was basely assisting Edward to ruin his country, and tear out the bowels of his mother; that he was determined to live and die free without the least stain or imputation of treachery to his country; that he was well aware of Edward's art in dividing the nobles, and playing them off against one another, that he might the more easily seize the crown and kingdom. This conference drew tears from Robert, who, from this time, began to see the artifices of Edward, and meditated a revolt from him. Wallace gathered up the scattered remains of his army and marched to Perth; and being more affraid of the envy and dissention of the nobles, than of all Edward's power, he called a convention and resigned his office of warden and general. This great man, who never would submit to Edward who offered him honour and riches, yielded to the envy of the barons. The govern-

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* Fordun. Simson.

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* See

these be the wall of God's own work and framing
 against our foes, and of his own mantaining;
 wherefor we bless his holy name that made us,
 and pray that never forreign scepter lead us,
 impose hard laws, and tributaries make us,
 to chastise us with scorpions, and to rake us;
 and likewise pray that *Ajax* like we would not
 undo our selves, while all our enemies could not.

But

ent was conferred on John Cumin who had an eye to the
 own *, and who deserved so well of his country by his spirited
 haviour at Falkirk. Wallace retired as a private gentleman, la-
 menting the desolation of his country, and the death of his friends
 Falkirk, especiallie Sir John Grahame whom he highly esteemed
 and loved.

† Seven years afterward he was betrayed at Glasgow by his in-
 ate friend Sir John Monteith, and sent in chains to London,
 where he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. His
 ad was fixed on a spire at London; one of his legs was set up at
 irth, and the other at Aberdeen. His condemnation and cruel
 ath fixed an indelible stain on Edward's character, who was other-
 e a brave and generous prince. The English chroniclers Wal-
 ghame, Knighton, and Holingshead, affect to fasten on Wallace
 character of an outlaw and robber. The later and more en-
 lightened historians of that nation, lament his hard fate and cen-
 sure the cruelty and injustice of Edward, as Wallace never ac-
 knowledged his supremacy over Scotland, nor could be bought
 to bow the knee and swear fealty to him. This mighty mo-
 ch, waving ths argument of his descent from Maud King Da-
 's sister, had proved in his letter to the Pope, beyond all possibi-
 of contradiction, his just title to the sovereignty over all Bri-
 by his lineal descent from the eldest of Brutus the great grand-
 of Eneas, who was certainly the first monarch of all Britain, after
 had exterminated the race of giants. What pity! That all the
 otish kings before Wallace were so blind, ignorant, and preju-
 diced,

* See p. 57.

† A. D. 1305.

But, O dear *Caledonia*! what desire
 Have all men who have heard thy fame t'admire
 Thy monuments? how much more these who be
 Thy sons, desire thy maiden soil to see?
 Thy maiden-castle and fair *Maidenburgh* *.
 The stately winged city, which is through
 All ages much renown'd with streets so fair,
 And palaces so mounted in the air:
 That if the deepness of imagination
 Could limn a land-schape by deep meditation;
 Scarce could it match where bravest youths abound,
 And gravest counsellours are alwise found;
 Which justice joineh hand with true religion,
 And golden virtue keeps the middle region,
 As register, where these acts are enrol'd,
 Better than in *Corinthian* brass or gold.

Let poetaster Parasites who feign,
 Who fawn, and crouch, and crouch and creep for gain,
 And, where no hope of gain is, huffe and hur,
 And bark against the moon, as doth a cur;
 Let such base curs, who nought but gobbets smell,
 With thee disgrac'd, and deeplie sunk in hell.

diced; that they could not perceive the force of such convincing arguments, but continued traitors to their undoubted superiors and liege lords.

* Edinburgh castle was called *castrum puellarum*, and was so strong, that, before the invention of gun-powder, it was impregnable, and could not be taken, except by treachery or famine.

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 OL. I.

Whither themselves do go ; yet shalt thou stand,
 and see them ruin'd, all who thee withstand :
 God shall befriend thy friends, and shall all those,
 array with shame, who causeless be thy foes :
 Thou art this antient kingdoms bravest part,
 for wit and worth, thou art its hand and heart :
 And who the kingdoms compend brave would see,
 needs do no more but survey take of thee :
 Hence these desires fair *Caledonia's* soil
 to view, when bravest stratagems with toil
 have acted been, hence comes these kindlie wishes,
 to see these fields, even like these kindlie fishes,
 which we behold o'ercome this mightie lin,
 and seek the fountains where they did begin.

THE MUSES THRENODIE.

The THIRD MUSE.

THUS as we did behold the salmon sporting,

We spied some countrie clowns to us resorting,

who stricken were with sudden admiration,

to see us graithed in such antique fashion,

their staring eyes grew blind, their tongues were dumb,

chilling cold their senses did benumb ;

we, What moves yon ghosts to look so griesly ?

they scarcely muttering, answered, and not wiselie,

OL. I.



K

Of

Oft have we heard of such strange wights as ye,
 But to this time we did them never see,
 If ye be men or not, scarce can we tell,
 Ye look like men, yet none such here do dwell;
 Then said good *Gall*, *Monſter*, theſe fellows ſtupid,
 Doubtleſs take me for *Mars*, and you for *Cupid* *:
 Therefore let us be gone, we will not tarry,
 Yon clowns will ſwear that they have ſeen the *fairies*,
 When they come home at night, and by the fire,
 Will tell ſuch uncouth tales, all will admire,
 Both man and wife, the lads and all the laſſes,
 For be ye ſure ſuch clowns are very aſſes.
 Thence down the river bank as we did walk,
 And merrillie began to chant and talk,
 A pretty boat with two oars we eſpy'd,
 Fleeting upon the waters, then we cry'd,
 HOW †, boatmen come; two fiſher men near by,
 Thus anſwer'd us again, and who doth cry?
 Said we, good friends, to favour us delay not,
 The day is very hot, and walk we may not;
 Therefore your kindly courteſie implores,
 To let us have theſe little pair of oars:
 For down the river we would make our way,
 And land at *Perth*; With all our heart, ſaid they,

* *Gall* was a tall and goodly man; Mr *George* was a well favoured little man.

† This word is pronounced with a loud voice by the country people, when they call to one at a diſtance, they ſound the O

For we likewise at *Perth* would gladly be,
 Only we want such companie as yee.
 All men were glad of us, none did refuse,
 What ever thing it please us, ask or chuse;
 Then we embarked with two boys in train,
 Who recollect our shafts, and these two men,
 As down the river did we softly slide,
 The banks most sweetlie smil'd on either side:
 To see the flowres, our hearts did much rejoice
 The banwort, dazie, and the fragrant rose,
Javonius in our faces sweetly blew
 His breath, which did our fainting sp'its renew
 Then with *Sicilian* muse, can we dissemble
 Our secret flames? making our voices tremble;
 While as we sweetlie sung kind *Amaryllis*,
 And did complain of sour-sweet lovely *Phyllis*:
 So sadly, that the nymphs of woods and mountains,
 And these which also haunt the plains and fountains;
 Are legged to the brawns, arms bare, and breast,
 Like whitest ivory bare unto the waste,
 The lillies and the roses of their faces,
 Running more pleasant made their waveing tresses,
 Well curled with the winde: all these drew nigh,
 The waters brink, in song to keep reply,
 Reading the flowres, when Gall them so espy'd:
 How he cast his eyes on either side
 And wish'd t'have smell'd on flow'r where they had traced,
 And what he would have given to have embraced.

But chiefly *echo* fetter'd was in love.

At everie word we spoke her tongue did move,

Then did we call, sweet nymph, pray thee draw nye?

She answered us most willingly, said, I.

Draw near, said *Gall*, for gladly would I please thee;

Do not deny to hear me, she said, ease thee:

Then come, sweet nymph, thy face fain would I know,

She quickly answered him again, said, No:

Why so, said he? Here is there no *Narcissus*,

To this her old love's name did answer, Kifs us;

Kifs us, said he, with all my heart, again.

This is the thing I would: She answer'd, gain,

Gain! such a gain, said he, I crave alway,

No countenance she shews, yet answers, ay;

And bashfully obscures her blushing face,

Lest from *Cephus* son, she finds disgrace;

But if that she had known *Gall's* tender mind,

She had not prov'd so bashful and unkind:

When ended were our songs with perfect close,

We thought it best to merrie be in prose:

Then seriously and truly to discourse,

Of diverse matters grave, we fell by course,

But chiefly of this blind world's practice had,

Preferring unto learning any trade;

For these ill times had not in such account

Men learned, as the former ages wont;

But if the worth of learning well they knew.

Good *Gall*, quoth I, they would make much of you,

poetry so skill'd and so well read
 all antiqutie, what can be said,
 Whereof you fluentlie can now discourse,
 even like the current of this rivers course?
 things absent, you can present make appear,
 and things far distant, as if they were near,
 things senseless, unto them give sense can yee,
 and make them touch, taste, smell, and hear and see:
 what cannot poets do? they life can give,
 and after fatal stroke can make men live;
 and if they please to change their tune or note,
 they'l make mens names to stink and rot.
 who did fix *Hercules* among the stars?
 and *Diomedes* for his wit in wars
 made equal to the gods? but odious
 for vice *Thersites* vile, and *Sisyphus*?
 thus were th' immortal Muses, who do sing,
 vice and virtue do their subjects bring;
 therefore this counsel wisdom doth impart you,
 flee filthie vice, and entertaine fair virtue?
 Yet 'tis not so that everie spirit fell,
 whose wicked tongue is set on fire of hell,
 or everie *Momus* nor *Archilochus*,
 whose mouths do vomit venom poysonous,
 with inspiration of the sacred Muses,
 such wickednesse the *Aonian* band refuses;
 but he who will most gravely censure can,
 and virtues praise advance in any man

With

With perfect numbers, such one is a poet,
 But in thir days, alasse ! few men do know it,
 Like my dear *Gall* who gravely did reply,
 A good *Mæcenæ*s lets not poets die ;
 Poets make men on gold-wing'd fame to flie,
 When lands with loss, life chang'd with death shall be.
 As we thus talk'd our barge did sweetly pass
 By *Scone's* fair palace, sometime Abbay was ;
 Strange change indeed ! yet is it no new guyse,
 Both spiritual lands, and men to temporize ;
 But palace fair which doth so richly stand,
 With gardens, orchards, parks on either hand,
 Where flowers, and fruits, the hart, and fallow-deer
 For smell, for taste, for venison and cheer,
 The nose, the mouth and palate which may please,
 For gardens, chambers, for delight and ease,
 Damask't with porphyrie and alabaster,
 Thou art not subject for each poetaster,
 But for a poet, master in his art,
 Which thee could whole describe, and everie part ;
 So to the life as 'twere in perspective,
 As readers that they see thee might believe :
 Mean while our boat doth with the river slide,
 The countrie nymphs who in these parts abide,
 With many a shout moving both head and hand,
 Did us invite that we might come a land,
 Not now, said we, and think it not disdain,
 For we do promise for to come again,

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Keith's

nd view where sometime stood your cathedral,
 nd mount, which *omnis terra* you do call *.
 Just by this time we see the bridge of Tay,
 happy sight indeed ! was it that day ;

A

* Scone stands about a mile and half north from Perth on the
 posite side of the river. It was an abbay founded by Alexander
 A. D. 1114, and was dedicated to the Trinity and Michael the
 archangel. Our kings were accustomed to be crowned here; and
 here the fatal marble chair in which they were crowned, was kept,
 which was sent by Edward Langshanks to Westminster, where it
 still remains * with this inscription on the stone,

*Ni fallit fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,
 Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

chanan and other writers say, that the abbacy formerly belong-
 to the Culdees. This abbacy, with other religious houses at
 one, was burnt down in a barbarous manner at the time of the
 reformation, 27th June A. D. 1559. The Monks were found to
 be a profligate and impious fraternitie, it was erected into a tempo-
 rary lordship by K. James VI. A. D. 1604, in favour of Sir David
 Murray of Gospetrie a cadet of the house of Tullibardin. The
 present Lord Viscount Stormont ambassador at the court of France
 is his lineal descendant and heir. In the church of Scone near the
 west wall, stands enclosed within an iron rail, a fine statue as large
 as life in a warlike dress, of the first lord in a praying posture
 with one hand lifted up, and before him a book lying open on a
 table. Near to this on the south wall stands a yet more elegant
 marble monument with a globe on the top which encloses the em-
 bedded heart of the present Viscount's lady, who died a few years
 ago at Vienna, while her lord was ambassador at that court. She
 was a Polish noblewoman, and possessed, in an eminent degree, every
 qualification that renders the marriage-state happy. The ground
 that surrounds the church, especially to the west is consider-
 ably raised, and is called *omnis terra*, as in the text. Hume, in
 his history of the Douglasses, gives us the origin of this name.
 " That

* Keith's history of the Scotch religious houses.

A bridge so stately with eleven arches,
 Joining the south and north, and common march is
 Unto them both, a bridge of squared stone,
 So great and fair, which when I think upon,
 How in these days it did so proudlie stand,
 O'erlooking both the river and the land/
 So fair, so high, a bridge for many ages
 Most famous; but, alas! now through the rages
 Of furious swelling waters thrown in deep,
 My heart for sorrow sobs, myne eyes do weep:
 And if my tongue should cease to cry and speak,
 Undoubtedlie my griefs swoln heart would break.
 But courage, *Monfieur*, my good *genius* says,
 Remember ye not how *Gall* in those days
 Did you comfort, lest melancholious fits
 Had you opprest, your spleen so nearlie sits,
 And told you in the year threescore thirteen,
 The first down-fall this bridge did e'er sustaine,
 By ruin of three arches next the town,
 Yet were rebuilt, thereafter were thrown down

" That when Robert Bruce was crowned 27th March A. D. 1306
 " Sir James, the 8th Lord Douglas assisted, and cast into a hea-
 " as did the other barons, a quantity of earth of his lands of Dou-
 " glas; which, making a little hill, is called *omnis terra*, this was
 " the custom of those times; by which homage, they who held the
 " King of Scotland supreme under God, were distinguished from
 " others." It is said that the Barons of Scotland could receive the
 " vestiture of their lands as lawfully, by delivering earth and
 " from this spot, as from their own lands. We are also informed
 " that antiently the conventions of the nobles were held in this place

the arches in the year fourscore and two
 edified likewise, and who doth know
 nsfer, but ah, mine heart can scarcely sober!
 en that great fall the fourteenth of October,

VOL. I.

L

Six

The old Bridge was a stately building and a great ornament
 the town, it was in a line with the principal street where the
 on ball now stands, it had a very strong gate at the entry from
 street. In the time of inundations it was often in danger by the
 er gorging both on the side of Perth, and Bridge-end on the op-
 side of the river. There is extant among the records be-
 ing to the abbacy of Scone, an order from K. Robert Bruce to
 Abbot and Monks, to allow the magistrates of Perth the liberty
 digging stones out of the quarries of Kincarrochie and Balcormac
 building the bridge of Tay, the bridge of Ern and the kirk,
 ch, on account of its simplicity, I give to the reader.

Robertus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum, religiosis Abbate et con-
 ventui de Scone, dilectis et fidelibus suis, Salutem, Vos rogamus,
 quatenus ad instantiam nostram, concedere velitis licentiam ca-
 vendi lapicidiorum de Kynkarachi et Balcormac, pro edificatione
 ecclesie de Perth, et pontium de Perth et Eryn, ita quod dicta
 centia non cedat vobis in damnum aut prejudicium. Datum
 ad Glasco, quarta die Julii anno regis nostri vigesimo tertio
 above order was granted A. D. 1329.

A considerable citizen of Perth called *Dundee* has recorded se-
 events with their dates, in a miscellaneous manuscript, in my
 sion, begun A. D. 1570, and continued by his son to A. D.
 1606. He says, "The falline doune of the three bowis of the brig
 of Tay be the greit wattr and of Lowis Vairk on the 20 of De-
 cembir in anno 1573."

The downe falling of 5 bowis of the brig of Tay on the 14
 of Janeveir in anno 1582 zeiris."

The doune falling of the bra trein pillaris of the brig of Tay
 on the 29 day of Decembre in anno 1589 zeiris."

Among the records belonging to the house of Pithevlis, there is
 order from the King and secret council for allowing the magi-
 strates of Perth the liberty of stones out of the quarrie of Pithevlis
 repairing the bridge on payment of fifty merks yearlie, untill
 the bridge is finished. The order is dated A. D. 1599, Feb. 7th,

John

Six hundred twenty one, repair'd may be?
 And I do wish, the same that I might see:
 For *Britain's* Monarch will it sure repair,
 Courage therefore, *Monfieur*, do not despair!

John Murray of Tibbermuir and John Ross of Craigie proprietors of the quarry.

The bridge was totally demolished by the overflowing of the river on the 14th October 1621. The surreptitious and imperfect history of Calderwood gives the following account of this desolation.

"October 4th, A. D. 1621, the stately bridge of Perth newly completed, consisting of ten arches, was destroyed by the high swelling of the river Tay. The water of Almond, and a loche bewell the town came down on the west hand, as dangerous as the river on the east. The town was environed with water, so that none could pass out for five or six days; nor could the inhabitants go from house to house for the water in the streets. Young children were let down at windows by cords to boats. The people ascribed this wrack to iniquity committed in the town, for there was held the last general assembly, and another in 1590, when the schism in the kirk began; and in 1606 here was held that parliament, at which bishops were erected, and the Lords rode first in their scarlet gowns." This bridge was certainly a piece of fine and strong workmanship. The second arch next to the town is yet to be seen, lying entire on the bed of the river, when the water is low in the summer season. In July 1771 I went on board a boat with some gentlemen, and rowing gently over this arch, we clearlie discerned the joyning of the stones with a white cement untouched with the injury of one hundred and fifty years.

Many attempts have been made to get the bridge rebuilt, but the expensive plans rendered them unsuccessful. A subscription was entered into and signed by James the sixth, and Charles Prince of Wales, followed by a long list of nobles and gentlemen; but the King's death, and the turbulent reign of Charles, rendered the scheme abortive. The execution of this great work was referred for better times, of which an account shall be given in its proper place.

't credible to be believ'd or told,
 That these our Kings who did possess of old
 Scotland alone, should such a work erect,
 And Britain's mighty Monarch it neglect?
 Absurd it is to think, much more to speak it;
 Therefore, good *Monfieur*, yee do far mistake it,
 For never yet a King was more inclin'd,
 To do great works, nor of a braver mind,
 Providing he can have due information,
 His word will prove of powerful operation:
 For Kings are gods on earth, and all their actions
 Do represent th' Almighty's great perfections *.

Thus Gall's sweet words often do me comfort,
 And my good genius truly doth report
 Them unto me, else sure my spleene would wholly
 Be overcome with fits of melancholie.
 Therefore I courage take, and hope to see
 A bridge yet built, although I aged be;
 More stately, firm, more sumptuous and fair,
 Than any former age could yet compare.
 Thus Gall assured me it would be so,
 And my good genius truly doth it know:

L 2

For

* Highly seasoned flattery, and suitable to *James's* palate, Charles
 turned from his father to stretch his prerogative beyond the law.
 And that King's were only accountable to God for their actions,
 The English parliament taught him another lesson, had he attended
 More to them, and less to his bishops and priests, he might have
 Lived in the hearts of his people, and escaped the miseries that
 Involved him and his family in ruin.

For what we do presage is not in grosse,
 For we be brethren of the rosie cross;
 We have the mason-word and second sight,
 Things for to come we can foretell aright,
 And shall we show what misterie we mean,
 In fair acrosticks *Carolus Rex* is seen,
 Describ'd upon that bridge in perfect gold,
 By skilfull art this cleerlie we behold,
 With all the scutcheon of Great Britaine's King,
 Which unto Perth most joyfull news shall bring.
 Loath would we be this misterie to unfold,
 But for King Charles his honour we are bold,

And as our boat most pleasantly did pass,
 Upon the crystal river clear as glass:
 My dearest Gall, quoth I, long time I spend,
 Revolving from beginning to the end;
 All our records yet searching cannot finde,
 First when this bridge was built, therefore thy mind
 Fain would I know, for I am verrie sorrie
 Such things should be omitted in our storie.
Monfieur, said Gall, things many of that kind
 To be omitted often do we find;
 Yea, time hath also greatest works destroyed,
 Wherein the learn'dest pennes have been employed:

But if that I should tell what I do know,

An antient storie I could to you show,

Which I have found in an old manuscript,

But in our late records is overslipt:

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Which storie no less probable is than true,
 And my good *Monfieur* I will show it you,
 Leave to speak what *Hollinsbed* hath told
 Of *Cunidad*, was *Britane's* King of old,
 The time *Uzziah* was of *Judah* King,
 And *Jeroboam* did over *Israel* reign;
 Ere *Rome* a city was years forty five,
 Ere sons of *Rhea* did for masterie strive,
 Now that this heathen built three cells of stone
 To *Mercurie* at *Bengor* built he one,
 As way for to direct: then to *Appolla*
Cornuel another did he hallow,
 For favourable response: the third to *Mars*,
 Where *Perth* now stands, for to assist his wars,
 At good *Monfieur* this story is too old,
 Therefore I leave the rest of it untold *.
 The time will not permit me to out read it,
 Be sure in *Hollinsbed* yee often read it.
 Will a storie of no less credit tell,
 After ages truly what befell.

When

* Well done Mr Adamson, a pretty Romance indeed. The
 reader will be pleased to take the character of this English his-
 torian, from that oracle of the Scots law Sir Thomas Craig at the
 close of his defence of Scotland's sovereignty.

Queris Hollinsbedii historiam cognoscere lector,

Augea stabulum dicere jure potes.

Non hanc eurotas, non hanc Tyrrhinius ipse

Expurgare potest, spongia sola potest.

When mightie *Romaines* came into this soyl,
 With endless labour and undaunted toll,
 After great conflicts and uncertain chance
 Of fortunes dye, they did in arms advance,
 At length unto these parts where *Perth* doth stand,
 Under the conduct and victorious hand
 Of that most valiant *Chieftain* of great fame,
 Brave *Ju'ius Agricola* by name.
 And there, hard by a river-side they found
 The fairest and most pleasant plat of ground
 That since by bank of *Tiber* they had been,
 The like for beauty seldom had they seen,
 Of eighteen hundred paces good in length,
 From *Muretoun* braes to foot of *Carnac's* strength,
 King of the *Pights* which stood on *Moredun* hill,
 The foot thereof from *Friers* dwelt thereintill,
 Now named is, in breadth eight hundred paces,
 Painted with white, red, yellow, flowerie faces *

* From *Muirtown Braes* half a mile north from *Perth* to *Moredun-hill* on the south, we measure somewhat more than three English miles. The north and south inches of *Perth* are beautifully variegated with dazies of all kinds, yellow and white crowfoot, lesser celandine, and other herbs which grow in great plenty there. The two *Friertowns* which antiently belonged to the *Chartriv* monastery are situated near to *Moredun* hill. On the highest top of this hill we have one of the finest prospects in *Perthshire*, perhaps in all *Scotland*; several officers of the army declare, that in their travels they never saw a finer view. Towards the east, the whole *Carse* of *Gowry*, with all the noblemen and gentlemens seats are distinctly seen. with the town of *Dundee* and *Brouchry* castle, the influx of the river to the sea. In a particular attitude are

equal fair, which when they did espy,
 on the continent they *campus Martius* cry.
 As an happy presage they had seen,
 they fix their tents amidst that spacious green,
 where now Perth doth stand, and cast their trenches,
 where *Perth's* fowls are, between these inches,
 the south and north, and basties they make
 the power and strength of *Scots* and *Picts* to break,
 who presentlie would fight, by wise cunctation,
 they frustrate all their hope and expectation:
 well this most victorious *Roman* knew,
 to abate his enemies rage and courage too,
 giving the place even to their hearts desire,
 with grass for pasture stored, and wood for fire.
 The river likewise very opportune,
 for lighter vessels to pass up and down,

And

seen *Perth* and *Dundee* in one view. When we turn to the west,
 a plain lies open with a view of many noblemen and gentlemen's
 seats. At the west end is a curve of the Ochill hills, which inter-
 duces a view of Stirling castle; but we see the hills of Monteith
 beyond it. At the foot of Moredun hill on the south stands the
 stately house of Moncrieff, the residence of Sir William Moncrieff.
 On the highest summit of the hill there is a circular fosse above six-
 ty yards diameter; in the middle of which stood *Carnac* fort which
 belonged to the *Picts*. There were several fortresses on the top of
 hills through the kingdom, which served for watch towers. On the
 tops of which they used to kindle fires on sudden invasions, insur-
 rections, or the approach of the enemy. These signals were com-
 municated from tower to tower, untill the whole country was al-
 armed and flew to arms, they were attended with the blowing of
 horns, which was a signal of war. Three miles south-east from this
 place is to be seen *Abernethy*, the metropolis of the Pictish kingdom.

And correspondence with their navy make,
 As foldiers wise, they all occasions take,
 And do conclude to winter in that place,
 To foile their foes, by voluntarie chace.

Mean while courageouſlie they do adviſe,
 A bridge to build, for further enterpriſe,
 Then furthwith fall they with redoubled ſtroaks,
 To fell the tall fir-trees, and aged oaks,
 Some ſquare the timber with a ſtretched line,
 Some do the tenons and the morties joine,
 Some frame an oval, others make a cub,
 Some cut a ſection, other ſome do grub,
 Some with great compaſſe ſemicircles forme,
 Some drive the wages, painfullie ſome worne,
 Some do hoife up the ſtanders, others fixe them;
 And ſome lay goodlie rafters o'er betwixt them;
 What ſtrength or ſkill can work from point to point,
 They cunninglie contrive with angular joint,
 And do moſt ſtronglie binde theſe contignations,
 To make them ſtand againſt all inundations.
 All men are ſet to frame, all hands are working,
 And all engines are buſied without irking;
 Thus in ſhort ſpace, a bridge they ſtronglie make,
 With paſſage fair, and for their ſafeties ſake,
 A mightie ſtrength to be, they frame withall,
 On either end, a bridge to liſt and fall,
 That ſoldiers might within it keep at eaſe,
 Admitting or repelling as they pleaſe,

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Thus fortified, lest that they should neglect,

the honour to their gods they did erect,

to Mars a temple, rather did restore

the temple built by Cunidad before;

for time on all things worketh demolition,

and heathen men maintaine like superstition.

Then did this valiant chieftaine name the river

Italy's remembrance *New Tiber*,

which afterwards it kept for many a day,

how long I know not. Now 'tis called *Tay*,

likewise an house of mighty stone he framed,

from whence our *Castle-gavil* as yet is named,

and if *Domitian* had not call'd him home,

think he should have built another *Rome* †.

But all these monuments were worn away,

he did *King William* Perth's foundations lay,

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Only

The castle stood near to the red bridge built over the canal, and
 minates the narrow street called *Skinnergate*. The skinner and
 over-shops have been for ages in this street. They are the most
 respectable corporation belonging to Perth, and have had many per-
 sons of character and and probity among them, who have born the
 office of magistracy with honour. The street beyond the red bridge
 leading to the North Inch, is erroneously called the *Castle-gavel*,
 head of the *Castle-street*: Where this terminates, there is ano-
 ther narrow street leading west to the Blackfriars called *Couvre Feu*-
 y, where the *Couvre Feu*-bell gave warning to the inhabitants to
 cover their fires and go to rest when the clock struck ten at night.
 † The similarity betwixt Perth and Rome, both built on the
 bank of rivers, the one having the celebrated *campus Martius*, and
 the other the two fine lawns, called *Inches*, which gave birth to A-
 rator's poetical fable of *Agricola's* design of building a new Rome
 where Perth stands. after he had overthrown the Scottish army un-
 der *Galgacus* at the foot of the *Grampians*. See p. 26, note.

Only *Mars* temple stood upon that greene,
 And th' house built by *Agricola* was seene *,
 And some characters cunninglie incise,
 With *Julius Agricola* imprisde
 In solid marmor, and some print was found,
 Where camped had an armie, end the ground
 Where there had been a bridge: All which did yield
 Occasion to King *William* for to build
 After old *Bertha's* overthrow, that city,
 These antient walls, and famous bridge; ah pitie
 If they were as I but what doth not the rage
 Of men demolish, and consuming age?
 For good King *William* seeing where had beene
 Of old a passage; forthwith did ordaine
 A mightie bridge of squared stone to be,
 These famous walls and fowlsies which we see,
Perth his chief strength to make, and seat of power,
 Did with most ample priviledge indue her.

These be the first memorials of a bridge,
 Good *Monfier*, that we truely can alledge.

* The citizens of *Perth* report, from tradition handed down from father to son, that the house on the west corner of the *Watergate* facing the high-street, where the Post-office now is, was called *House of the Green*, and is the oldest house in *Perth*. They say that in this house the golfers deposited their clubs and balls, and that the temple stood on the same ground before *Perth* was built. They say also, that the two Inches were given to the town by the family of *Aldie* for a burial-place within the kirk, where that family are buried to this day.

thus spoke good *Gall*, and I did much rejoyce
 to hear him these antiquities disclose;
 which I remembring now, of force must cry,
 Oll, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die?

THE MUSES THRENODIE.

The FOURTH MUSE.

THIS time our boat passing too nigh the land,
 The whirling stream did make her run on sand,
 Oif, we cry'd, but all in vain t' abide,
 We were constrain'd, till flowing of the tide.
 When Master *Gall*, quod I, even for my blessing
 Now let us go, the precious pearles a fishing,
 An' occasion serveth well, while here we stay
 To catch these muscles, you call toyts of Tay,
 As possible if no ill eye bewitch us
 The jewels finde, for all our dayes t'enrich us:
 The waters here are shald, and clear, and warme,
 To bath our arms and limbs will do no harme,
 These sweet streams have power to bring back
 Our spirits which in outward parts make slack
 Our natural strength, but when these sp'rits retire,
 They multiply our heat and inbred fire;
 Wiping our vital, and our natural parts,
 Our lungs, our livers, stomachs, and our hearts
 And mightilie refrigerate our reins,
 Above all they do refresh our spleens.

For such a bathing bravely doth expell,
 Melancholie, which makes the spleen to swell
 More than it should, causing an atrophie,
 That we like *skellets* rather seem to be
 Than men, and *Atropos* appears to laugh,
 Thinking we look more like an epitaph
 Than marriage song; likewise it doth us make
 Both support and collation freshlie take.
 Content said *Gall*; then off our shoes we drew
 And hose, and from us we our doublets threw,
 Our shirt-sleeves wreathing up, without more speeches,
 And high above our knees we pulling our breeches,
 In waters go, then streight mine arms I reach
 Unto the ground, whence cleverlie I fetch
 Some of these living pearled shells, which do
 Excell in touching and in tasteing too,
 As all who searh, do by experience try,
 And we oftimes; therewith I loudlie cry.
 Good Master *Gall*, behold I found a pearle,
 A jewel I assure you for an Earle.
 Be silent, said good *Gall*, or speak at leasure,
 For men will cut your throat, to get your treasure,
 If they its worth did know so well as I,
Harpocrates my patience would try,
 Said I againe, for I am not like such,
 Who hurd their treasure and their speech as much,
 But *Gall*, to stay long no wayes would be moved,
 This element, said he, I never loved,

to land; on goeth our cloaths, alongst the way,
 Then did we go, and taking cleare survey,
 how proper *Perth* did stand, one might have drawn
 a landskip fair, on paper or on lawn.

Good *Gall*, said I, oftimes I heard of old,

to be of truth these things ere while you told:

but of these walls I doubt that which you said,

that good King *William* their foundations layd.

Their founding is more late, I you assure;

that we from strangers rage may be secure,

they builded were, even then when *James* did reigne

the second, and in minor age was King,

on a bloodie slaughter, I hear tell,

which 'twixt our town and Highlandmen befell;

for taking, as the custome was, a straig

Midsummer, said *Gall*, *Monfieur*, you vaig.—

which word iudeed my spleene almost did move:

then *Gall*, said I, if that I did not love

most intirely, I would be offended.

And he, good *Monfieur*, would you have it mended?

When I that storie will you truly tell,

if I faile so much as in a spell,

take all your pleasure, I my peace will hold,

if grant my tongue in speaking was too bold:

Therefore *Monfieur*, be not so much annoy'd,

these walls have oft been built, and oft destroy'd,

stratagems of war have acted been,

as worthy as the world hath heard or scene.

By sojourns as good as the earth hath born,
 This boldly to avow I der be sworn :
England's first Edwards three can shew the same,
 And *Scotland's Wallace, Bruce, and Stewart's fame,*
 Whose prowes within this isle were not confin'd
 The *Netherlands* and *France* scarce them contain'd,
 Nor other parts of *Europe*, and 'tis cleare
 What great exploits they bravely acted heere,
 These stories are well known, I must not slack,
 For by and by the tide will call us back,

When *Edward Langshanks* *Scotland* did surprise,
 The strengths first did he take as Chistian wise ;
 But his chief strength to keep both south and north,
 Lowlands and Highlands on this side of *Forth*,
Perth did he chuse, and strongly fortifie
 With garrisons of foot and cavalrie.
 And what the former times could not outred,
 In walls and fowties ; these accomplished *.
 Thereafter worthy *Wallace* first expelled them †,
 And for to leave these walls by force compell'd them.
 Whom after foughten was that fatal field,
 Wofull *Falkirk*, envie did force to yield

* After the unfortunate battle of *Falkirk*, A.D. 1298. *Edward* the first reduced all the fortresses in *Scotland*, and fortified *Perth* and rebuilt the walls in a strong manner which was often the defence of his deputies, his son *Edward* who succeeded him, resided at *Perth* for some time, who was succeeded by *Sir Aymer de Valence* who beat *Robert Bruce* at *Methven* A. D. 1306.

† Note, p. 67.

his government : to *Perth* then came,
 and in the Nobles presence quatte the same *.
 can fac'd envie doth often bring a nation
 to civill discord, shame, and desolation.
 Each bitter fruit we found, all to confusion
 once did run, was nothing but effusion
 of guiltlesse blood : Our enemies did take
 our strength again, and all things went to wrake,
 such was our woefull state, unto the time
 that brave King *Robert Bruce*, came to this clime,
 most happily, yet small beginnings had,
 for many yeers before this land he freed
 from enemies rage, till wisely he at length
 soft-recoiling recollected strength;
 when came to *Perth*, and did the same besiege
 and take; who through pursuit and cruel rage,
 all'd *Scots* and *Englisb* all were in it found,
 heake down the walls, them equal'd to the ground †.
 After this victorious King did die,
 and brave Earle *Thomas Randolph*, by and by ‡,

All

* Note, p. 70.

† Note, p. 58.

That we may understand the spring from whence the unfortunate battle at Dupline arose. let us take a review of the state of the nation a few years back. Robert Bruce being in a declining state of health, worn out with the fatigues of war, and his successor only but seven years old; he appointed the celebrated Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, guardian and tutor to the young Prince, and regent of the kingdom during his minority. Randolph was Robert's faithful friend, an experienced General and able politician most acceptable to all the King's friends. Robert, that he might establish peace

All things perplexed were, the *Baliol* proud,
 With *English* forces both by land and flood
 In *Scotland* came, arrived at *Kinghorne*,
 And through the country mightily did forne.
 Our governors the *Earles of Marche and Marre*,
 Sufficient armies levying for warre

peace during a long minority, entered into a league with Edward the third, who renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Scotland, and delivered up the records which his grandfather seized and carried to London, together with the roll of those who had sworn fealty to him. He gave his sister Jane in marriage to Prince David. Robert also procured from John Baliol a renunciation of his title and pretensions to the crown of Scotland; having thus established peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, he died, and Randolph was unanimously recognized Regent.

Edward Baliol an enterprising youth, hearing in France where he resided, of Robert's death, asserted his claim to the crown, entered into measures with Edward the third by the means of some exiled Scotch barons, promising to hold the sovereignty of Scotland to Edward, contrary to the late treaty with Robert, and in opposition to the interest of his own sister, now Queen of Scotland, prepared to support Baliol who was a man of courage and intrepidity. Edward was affraid of Randolph's power and prudence, and knowing that he was beloved and esteemed by the Scots, he, overpersuaded by the council of his courtiers, demeaned himself so far as to enter into a plot to poison the Regent. For this purpose a strolling Monk was employed, who was to personate a foreign physician successful in curing the gravel with which Randolph was grievously afflicted. Having received his instructions and promises of great rewards he repaired to Scotland, assumed the character of an experienced physician who had cured many who were afflicted with the stone; he was introduced to the Regent, and after insinuating himself into his favour, he administered to him poison mixed with syrups which operated slowly, but surely. The impostor effected under pretence of bringing more medicines. Edward being convinced that Randolph was still alive, and suspecting that the Monk had deceived him, condemned him to be burnt alive. Mean time Randolph languishing under excruciating torments in his intestines,

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his pride for to repress, did fire their rents
 at *Dupline* camped *Marre* : Mine heart it rents
 to tell the woefull event, in the night
 his Earle and all his hoste surprisde by flight,
 we know the storie, all to death near brought,
 the *Englisbmen* on *Scots* such butcheries wrought,
 thus *Baliol* proud to *Perth* did make his way,
 the city all secure ere break of day
 for to surprize, naked of walls and men,
 prey most easie did obtain, and then
 to fortifie the same, in haste, did call,
 to cast the fowlsie and repair the wall.

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N

The

Musselburgh, 20th July 1331, and was buried with great funeral
 pomp at *Dunfermling* *. Two new governours were appointed, *Patrick*
Dunbar Earl of *March* and *Donald* *Campbell* Earl of *Mar*,
 the 31st of July. On that same day certain intelligence was
 brought to court, that *Edward Baliol* was seen in the *Frith* of *Forth*
 with a numerous navy; he landed at *Kinghorne* on the first of *August*.
 The land-forces were commanded by *David Cumin* and
Montgomery the exiled Earls of *Athol* and *Buchan*, assisted by *Moubry*.
 The English forces were commanded by *Talbot*, *Alexander Seton*,
 a nobleman, at that time in *France*, endeavoured to oppose their land-
 ing, but was cut off with the most of his followers.
Baliol suffered his army to rest and refresh themselves at the wa-
 ter-mills, and afterwards marched to *Strathern*, and pitched his
 camp. Many of the *Malecontents* flocked in to him which increas-
 ed his army to 10,000. Having received intelligence that the
 English army was encamped in two divisions, the one under the
 Earl of *Mar* at *Dupline*, about four miles south-west from *Perth*,
 the other under the Earl of *March* at *Auchterarder*, about
 eight

Boece, *Hume* of *Godscroft*, *Buchanan*, *Lessie*, *Hollinshed*
 relate the story of the Monk; but to cover *Edward's* disgrace, he
 rejects the truth of it.

The Earle of *March*, hearing the woëfull chance,
 Incontinent his armie did advance
 To *Perth*, hoping the same he might regaine,
 Did straitly it besiege, but all in vaine,

eight miles west from Dupline. Baliol, to prevent the junction of the two armies, resolved to pass the river Ern in the night-time and attack *Mar's* camp. To facilitate the passage of the troops who were unacquainted with the fords of Ern, *Andrew Murray* Tullibardin fastened a pole at the proper ford, the army got safe over. Being covered by the woods which lay betwixt the army and the Scottish camp, Baliol past in silence with a design to attack them in the rear, supposing it to be less guarded. But it happened, that in the place where they presumed the greatest negligence was, they found on guard, Thomas Randolph Earl of *Murray*, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick nephew to King Robert, *Malcolm* earl of Monteith, and Alexander Frazer. These collected a strong company of their friends together, received the first charge of the enemy with great firmness and bravery upon the edge of a ditch accidentally made by the falling of rain-water. A great noise and tumult was raised in the camp, each one hastening to his arms and running into the battle in disorder, and without their colours they first broke the ranks of their own men who bore the brunt of the enemy, and the last pushing on the foremost, they fell into the ditch and were killed by the enemy; both horse and men were pressed to death by the fall. The remainder were so weakened that they had scarcely strength to fight or flee. Three thousand of the Scots fell; several of those who escaped fled to *Perth*, and being without arms or guides were easily taken by the victors, together with the city itself. Among the slain were the Earl of *Mar*, Robert Keith with a great number of his relations and tenants. There fell eighty of the family of the *Lindsays*, with Alexander their chief. The name of the *Hays* would have been extinct by this battle, but not William the chief of the family lest his wife big with child. Among the prisoners were Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, *Malcolm* earl of Monteith, William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, and Duncan M'Duff earl of Fyfe, who were forced to take an oath of allegiance to Baliol.

Intelligence of this overthrow was brought the next day to the Earl of *Marche* at Auchterardour, who immediately advanced

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forc'd was to retire; *Baliol* to *Scone*
 then went, was crown'd, rather usurp'd the crown.
 these fair *fortunes* having gain'd a faction,
 for the country's peace, but for distraction,
 and overwey the ballance, none with reason
 first call the *Baliol's* enterprize a treason,
 cause it had good success so doth reele,
 'inconstant course of giddie *fortune's* wheele.
 instant in changes of blindfolded chance;
 an while King *David Bruce* did flee to *France**,

N 2

Did

relief of *Perth*, but was forced to retire without effecting any
 g. This fatal battle was fought 3d August A. D. 1332 *, *Da-*
 and his Queen were obliged to fly into France. *Baliol* went to
 ne and was crowned, but is not numbered among the Kings of
 eland. His reign was short; for the next year the sons and
 nds of those who were killed at *Dupline*, raised an army, be-
 ed *Perth*, and after three month's siege made themselves master
 t, and cast *Duncan* Earl of *Fife* into prison. They made *An-*
 w *Murray* Earl of *Bothwell* Robert *Bruce's* sister's son Regent,
 Andrew *Murray* of *Tullibardin*, who discovered the ford over
 to the English, was put to death. Not long after this the *Re-*
Murray died, and Robert *Stewart* afterwards King was de-
 ed Regent. About the end of the year *Baliol* was defeated in
 andale, who fled to *Roxburgh*, and then into England, and ac-
 wledged *Edward* as his liege Lord, hoping to be restored by
 which brought on war between the two kingdoms.
David was but ten years old when he and his Queen were con-
 d to France; he was honourably received by *Philip*, who ap-
 ed *Chatteau Galliard* for his residence. *Edward*, on *Baliol's*
 owledgeing him his liege Lord, and renouncing the independen-
 of the crown of Scotland, promised him in marriage his sister
 id's Queen, which never took effect.

Leslie. Hume places it 23d September by mistake.

As yet a child his tender life to save,
From tirranizing *Baliol's* bloodie glave *.

Baliol install'd in guarding leaves the town
To some true traitours not true to the crown †.
Hereafter nobles and commons all combinde,
Whose kin were kill'd at *Dupline* ‡ in one minde,
Aveng'd to be, did come in awfull manner
Unto the citie with displayed banner,
And strongly it beseige three months and more,
Till strong asault and famine urging sore,
Forc'd them to yield, the traitours openly kill'd,
The walls were raz'd again and fowlsies fill'd.

Yet *Baliol* once more did obtain the same,
And with new fortunes much advance his name ;
But who doth not find fortune's fickle chance,
Whom ere while she so highly did advance,
To hold a scepter and to wear a crown,
Now tyranizing proudly pesters down :

* Sword. There are several obsolete, though significant words in this poem, some of them derived from the French language which was well understood among the Scotch in these days, when there was great friendship and much intercourse betwixt the two nations. There is a good glossary and interpretation of old Scotch words at the close of *Gavin Douglas's Virgil*, printed at Edinburgh A. D. 1710, and at the close of the 2d V. of *Ramsay's Evergreen*.

† M'Duff, earl of Fife, who was made prisoner at the battle of Dupline, and who submitted to Baliol, was appointed Governor of Perth; but on the reduction of the city by the Bruce party, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Kildrummy.

‡ We may observe that Dupline, which was so fatal to the illustrious House of the *Hays*, now gives the title of Lord Viscount to the earl of Kinnoul, a descendant of that antient and noble house.

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* A. D.
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Hume's

ing Edward came with fiftie thousand brave,
 to Perth the Baliol led as captive slave *:
 trust not in Kings, nor kingdoms, nor applause
 of men, the world's a sea that ebbs and flowes,
 wheel that † turns a reel that always rokes,
 bait that overfallowed men choakes,

Seditious

* A. D. 1333.

† Edward pulls off the masque, and shews that he had no other
 sign in supporting Baliol, but as a tool to enslave Scotland. Per-
 suaded, as his grandfathar was, that he had a just title to the So-
 verignty of Scotland, and that the Scottish Monarchs were only
 vassal princes accountable to the successors of *Brutus*. He lays
 stress on a recent decision of Baliol's, which not only displeased him,
 but also many of the anglicised Scottish nobles; John Moubray, a
 faithful friend of Edward the first, to whom he gave considerable
 lands in the north, died about this time without male-issuë; he left
 his estates betwixt his two daughters and his brother Alexander.
 His testament became the foundation of a plea. The daughters
 claimed as heirs of line, the uncle as heir of entail; one of the
 daughters was married to Henry Beaumont a powerfull Lord. The
 case came before Baliol and his council: Talbot the English gover-
 nor and Cumin gave their voice for the daughters. After much
 agitation, Baliol decided in favour of Alexander Moubray. Dis-
 satisfied with Baliol's judgment, Beaumont retires to the north, and
 seizes the strong castle of *Dundarg* in Buchan, with all the adja-
 cent lands, and Cumin fortifies himself in Atholl. Talbot repairs
 to the English court, but is seized on his journey by a party of the
 Bruceans and sent prisoner to Dumbarton castle where he died
 some time after. Baliol, intimidated by the insurrection of Beau-
 mont and Cumin, reverses his sentence, which disaffected Moubray,
 so went over to the Bruceans. Edward receiving intelligence of
 these commotions, marches at the head of fifty thousand men to
 the north and carries Baliol prisoner to England, and appoints Cumin
 governor who was an aspiring nobleman, and of a various and fickle
 disposition. So low was the interest of David Bruce at this time,
 that none durst venture to call him King, excepting children in
 their play.*

Hume's history of the Douglasses, ad an. 1335.

Seditions rise again, this *Edward Windsor*,
 With greater forces came and made a wind sore,
 To blow through Scotland minding a new conquest,
 Did all things overwhelm even as a tempest,
 Castles ov'rcome strongly beligger *Perth*
 It take, rebuild her walls all thrown to earth,
 Upon the charges of six abbacies *,
 With bulwarks, rampiers, rounds, and bastalies

* These six Abbacies were very rich when Edward ordeted them to pay the expences of fortifying Perth, they complained grievously of this burden, but were obliged to submit. Perth never was so strongly fortified. Edward appointed Sir Thomas Ochtrede governor.

To put an end to the animosities among the nobles, on account of the contradictory decisions concerning Lord Mowbray's estates which had occasioned a defection of Atholl and Lord Alexander Mowbray from Edward and Baliol's interest to that of David Bruce, a most extraordinary negotiation was entered into at Perth, the articles are as follows:

" These are the articles and points agreed on between the council of the Kings of England and Scotland on the one party, and Lord Alexander Mowbray, the Lord Geoffrey Mowbray, the Lord Geoffrey Roos, Dr William Bullock clerk, and the Lord Eustace de Lorrain, having full power from David de Strathbolgy earl of Atholl, and Robert Stewart of Scotland on the other party to break of, accord and confirm all points enterparled, and to be enterparled between the said Kings, and the said earl and Robert Stewart, as appeareth by the letters-patents of either party.

" I. *Imprimis*, It is accorded, that the earl of Atholl, and the great men and others of the commonalty of Scotland, which were willing to come into the King of England's peace, shall have life and limb, lands and tenements, fees and offices, which they ought by right, and by inheritance, to have in Scotland (those except, which by common assent should be excepted) in such manner

f squared stone with towres and battlements,
 houses for prospect and such muniments
 for strong defence, cloufes, and water-falls,
 with passage fair to walk upon the walls,

And

at all offences and misdemeanours which they had committed in
 the realm of England, from the beginning of the world to the date
 of these presents, shall be pardoned without imprisonment, or any
 other molestation.

“ II. *Item*, That the earl of Atholl and Lord Alexander Mow-
 say shall still hold those lands, tenements and fees in England,
 which they held at their departure from Newcastle upon Tyne,
 when they paid homage to the King of England.

“ III. *Item*, That the franchises of the kirk shall be maintained
 after the ancient usage; and that the laws of Scotland in boroughs;
 towns, and sheriffwicks, within the lands of the King of Scotland
 be used after the old way, as they were used in the time of King
 Alexander: and that the offices of Scotland be administered by men
 of the same nation; yet so as that the King of Scotland, of his
 prerogative royal, may, at any time, according to his pleasure, ad-
 vance to places of office, men of any nation whatever.

“ IV. *Item*, That all those who being in the same case with the
 earl of Athol, have lands and tenements within the lands of the
 King of England, shall still hold those lands and tenements, pos-
 sessions, fees and offices, as they had them at their departure from
 Newcastle upon Tyne, when they paid homage to the King of Eng-
 land, those except, (who by common consent shall be excepted)
 if they shall be impleaded for the lands and tenements afore-
 said, they may have their defence and recoveries in any court ac-
 cording to law.

“ V. *Item*, As touching the demand which the earl of Athol
 made, that the King of England would release him his lands
 in England, which he hath in gage for eight hundred merks, the
 King neither ought, nor will do that; but as for his manor of Bu-
 rgh, on which the said earl laid the pledge of two hundred pounds,
 it is accorded, that if the said earl of Athol come within one year,
 and make true payment of the said money, that the King shall cause
 the said manor to be restored unto him.

“ VI. *Item*, As touching the lands and castle of Chillingham, the
 earl shall be in the same point as he was before, at his depar-
 ture

And spacious bounds within sojourns to dreel,
 To march, to string, to turne about and wheel :
 These were the abbacies *Couper Landores,*
Balmerinoch, Dumfermling, Saint Androes

ture from Newcastle upon Tyne, when he had paid homage to King of England, and shall have his recovery by law; and King promifeth, in good faith, to take order, that he shall have law of his kingdom, without favour on either party.

" VII. *Item*, That as touching the lands which the said claims in Norfolk, whereof he hath charters, the king promifeth that, having first seen his charters, by advice of his council, he do him reason. And if, in any case, any man surmise treason on the said earl, he may defend himself with his body, according to the laws and usages in Scotland, and upon the marches; and all those in his case have the like grant.

" VIII. *Item*, That as to the pardou which William Ram knight, demandeth for the trespass by him done to William Montague, in beating down his castle of Hawthornden, the William shall be ready to make satisfaction, in such manner as shall be by the kings of England and Scotland, devised.

" IX. *Item*, That the Lord Eustace de Lorraine shall have lands and tenements, which he ought to have within the realm of Scotland; and if any man hath trespassed against him, he shall have his recovery by law. Dated at St John's town in Scotland the eighteenth of August A. D. 1335."

This shamefull agreement between the two Edwards and Scotch nobility, illegal and treasonable as it was, evinces Edward's willingness to compromise matters in Scotland, where he hated man more than he did the earl of Athol, it contains concessions which his grandfather, towards the latter-end of his reign, would have rather died than have granted. Neither the Lord High Chamberlain, Athol nor Mowbray were present, but by deputies, they would not trust their persons within the power of the two Edwards; besides the Lord Stewart was sick, but under the direction of him. It is amazing that the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom were restored to the same state they were in at the death of Alexander the third, before Edward the first made his claim of superiority*.

* Fordun. Guthrie.

and *Aberbrothok*, who these works did frame

for merit and for honour of their name :

such zeal had they, though blind ; ah, now a days,

such knowledge is profest, but zeale decays.

Thus was the citie strongly fortified,

ill *Robert* the first *Stewart* first assayed

with foure great armies, yet by force repell'd,

and after three months siege with grief compell'd

to sound retreat, *Douglas* meane while in *Tay*,

most happ'ly did arrive, then they assay

to reinforce the charge, and with munition

or batterie new prepar'd, and demolition,

most furiously assault, a month and more,

nothing could availe their endeavour,

until the *Earl of Rosse* with new supplie

did fortifie the leaguer, and drew by

the water, which the wall did compasse round,

secret conduits, and made dry the ground,

then after sharp assault, and much blood spended,

avely pursued, and no lesse well defended :

finding themselves too weak who were within,

more to resist, so partie they begin,

and treat of peace ; both parties jump in one,

with bag and baggage that they should be gone,

and so it was : The citie they surrender,

English since hath been thereof commander.

Read *George Buchanan, Boece, Master Mair,*

These histories they word for word declare *

After the siege the walls some part were throun down,

But were not wholly raz'd, to keep the town

In some good fort, readie for peace or war,

If not a bulwark, yet some kinde of bar.

Thus did they stand, untill the Highlandmen,

Amidst their furie kill'd a citizen;

* In the beginning of the year 1339, after the death of the regent Andrew Murray, the regency was conferred on Robert the Lord High-stewart, afterwards King, who was but a youth. He resolved to distinguish himself by opening the siege of *Perth*, which Edward and his engineers had fortified with uncommon skill, and had placed in it an excellent garrison. The defence they made three months was so brave, that the High-stewart was about to raise the siege, when Douglas Lord Lidsdale arrived from France, whither he was sent on an embassy to David Bruce, and brought with him five (Fordun says) two ships, with a supply of men and provisions. The siege was renewed with vigour. Douglas was wounded in the leg by the shot of a cross-bow, while he was going to the Scalade. When the siege had lasted four months, and was like to have continued longer; the earl of Ross, by digging of mines, drew away the water, and dried up the fosses and ditches, so that the soldiers, approaching the walls on dry ground, beat the defenders with arrows and darts shot out of engines made for that purpose, the Governour Sir Thomas Ochtred with his garrison, seeing the city untenible, surrendered, having capitulated for the safety of their lives and estates: Some marched off by land, and others were provided with shipping to England. Douglas rewarded the French very liberally, and sent them back into France well pleased. He caused also to be restored to Hugh Hambel the commander, one of the best of his ships which was taken by the English during the siege. Hambel had adventured to approach the town with his ships, to give an assault, one of them was taken and now restored *.

* Hume of Godscroft, Buchanan, Guthrie.

A citizen to kill, an odious thing
 It then was thought; no sacrifice condigne.
 Could expiate the same, though now each knave
 Dar to account a citizen a slave;
 No such conceit in all the world againe,
 As proudly poor such fondlings do maintaine.
 This sudden slaughter made a great commotion,
 The burgeses without further devotion,
 As men with war injur'd, to armes do flie,
 Upon these Highlandmen aveng'd to be,
 Which they performe, chaffed in mind like beares,
 And do pursue them unto *Houghman's-staires*;
 In memorie of this fight it hath the name,
 For many men lay there, some dead, some lame,

O 2

On

* In the reign of James the 2d, A. D. 1443. John Gormac of Atholl Captain of a band of robbers, who laid all the country around him under contribution, attached Sir William Ruthven sheff of Perth, at the head of his guards, while leading a thief from Atholl to the gallows, a sharp skirmish began. Gormac, with thirty of his followers were slain, the rest fled to the mountains. It is conjectured that *Houghmanstaires* mentioned in the poem, is somewhere beyond Almond, but now unknown. After this, the citizens, by an act of council, were ordered to keep the walls in repair next to their houses. James the 2d, after the murder of his father at the Blackfriars Monastery, gave also an order to cause the walls of Perth to be repaired.

It is far fetched in Buchanan and his followers to insinuate that Gormac committed this outrage against Lord Ruthven's predecessor, under the patronage of William the 8th earl of Douglas, who was at that time much offended at the cruel murder of his two cousins in the castle of Edinburgh, by Crichton and Livingston. The same courtiers procured his own murder by the hand of the King in Striving-castle A. D. 1452. It is utterly improbable that he had any hand in Gormac's insurrection as he lay far out of his way.

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On which occasion they gan fortifie,
 And build these walls againe: as now we see,
 Though not so bravely as they were before,
 For that did farr surpasse their endeavour;
 Yet some resemblance they do keep and fashion,
 For they be builded neere the old foundation.

These are the walls, *Monsier*, as I have shown,
 Which often have been built, oft times thrown down
 With stratagems of war, fame hath renown'd them,
 And if not *Mars*, yet martiall men did found them.
 But now, good *Monsier*, needs none more at all
 Them to destroy: they of themselves will fall.
 So said, good *Gall*, and humbly begged leave,
 For that offence so rashly he did give.
 Oh! if he were on life to say much more,
 For so he was disposde sometimes to roare.

THE MUSES THRENODIE.

THE FIFTH MUSE.

YET bold attempt and dangerous, said I,
 Upon these kinde of men such chance to try
 By nature inhumaine, much given to blood,
 Wilde, fierce, and cruell, in a desperate mood.
 But no such danger, answer'd Master *Gall*,
 As fearfullie you deeme, was there at all:

Perth was then a citle made for war, where men were soldiers all, and bold to dar-
 ch motion attempt, a soldier keeps
 the smallest outrage hardly can sustain.
 Many such stratagems declare I might,
 which *Perth* hath acted in defence of right;
 at *Ruthven's* place, and *Duplin*, in one day *
 were burn'd, or battle of the bridge of *Tay*.

With

The barons of Scotland, in ancient times, exercised the power
 authority of sovereign princes, over their dependents and ten-
 ts, and many branches of their families received lands from
 n, and held them by a military tenure. They waged war a-
 gainst one another, pulling down castles, and carrying fire and de-
 struction into their enemies territories. Many of them had no other
 recourse to their overgrown estates, but that of conquest. When Ro-
 bert Bruce, after he was established in the kingdom, demanded of
 the nobility, the charters by which they held their lands,
 they drew their swords, and with a stern countenance answered,
 these are our rights and charters. James the first, understanding
 that many of the royal domains were alienated, and in the possession
 of the nobles, made the same demand with more firmness and less
 success, and lost his life by almost an universal conspiracy of the
 great barons.

The old Gothick castles strongly fortified, which are to be seen
 every where through Scotland, are evident monuments of our an-
 cient barbarity. The town of *Perth* was one of the strongest for-
 tifications in the kingdom, surrounded with castles the residences of
 powerful barons, who were often at war with one another, and with
 the magistrates of *Perth*. *Ruthven*, now *Huntingtower*, was the
 chief fortress of the *Ruthvens*; *Aberdalgie* and *Dupplin* of the
Stuarts; *Craigie of the Rosses*; *Kinfauns* of the *Charters*; *Gaf-
 fall* and *Fingask* of the *Bruces*, &c.

In those days the citizens of *Perth* were numerous, and trained
 to arms. When the neighbouring barons quarreled with the
 magistrates, they prohibited their tenants to furnish the town with
 provisions and other necessaries. The magistrates issued out on
 the head of the citizens, and burnt down their castles. The re-
 cords

With manly courage fought, where kill'd were many,
Upon the day sacred to *Magdalene*,
Five hundredth fourtie four, for which she mournes,
And many times here cristall teares she turns
In fouds of woes, remembering how these men
Were justly by their own ambition slain.

records of the town, have preserved some instances of remission
fines paid for these outrages.

One of them is dated in the 2d or 3d year of James the
A. D. 1461. Be it kend till all men be this present letters,
Laurence Lord Oliphant of Aberdalgie Knight, to have
clamat, and dischargit, and be this our present letters, quyt, cl
and dischargis, alderman, counsul and communite of the burgh
Perth in general and special, and their successoris for us, our
and executoris, for now and ever of the doune casting of the
of Dupline, and of the spoilzeation of it and of Aberdalgie
special, and of all and sundrie actions, quarrelis and pley
batis, questonis and demandis depending betwix us and them
till the day of the making of this present writis, but reservit
fraud, or guyl. In witness hereof to this our present letters
appensit our seal of bur awn, in presens of our well beloved
Henrie Wardlaw of Torie, Alexander Blair of Bothick,
Hering, John of Moncreif, Alexander of Dundas, Robert
Ross of Craigie, Watt Oliphant, Watt of Moncreiff, with
dyverse at Perth, the penult day of June the zaire of our
ane thousand four hundredth sixtie and a zeir.

There is also a record of a high penaltie paid by the town
Perth to Sir Thomas Bruce of Clackmannan for burning the
of Gasconhall about five miles east from Perth. Also a rem
under the great seal granted to the magistrats council and com
nitie of Perth for burning the house of Craigie in the neigh
hood, dated 5th February 1526, and 14th year of the reign
James 5th.

* Cardinal Bethune, and James Hamilton earl of Arran,
prince of the blood royal regent came to Perth A. D. 1544, in
sequence of an act which the Cardinal had obtained in the law
vention of states, giving authority to all bishops to prosecute
punish hereticks. Friar Spence accused Robert Lamb, Wil
Ande

inking to sack a town, some through despair,
 and overleap the bridge, and perish there;
 some borne on spears, by chance did swim a land,
 and some lay swelting in the flykle sand,

Agruif

Anderson, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and
 Helen Stark, spouse to Robert Lamb. Lamb and his wife were
 accused for interrupting Spence in a sermon, in which he taught
 that there was no salvation without intercession and prayers to the
 saints. They confessed the charge, declaring that it was the duty
 of every one who knows the truth to bear testimony to it, and not
 suffer people to be abused with false doctrine as that was. Ander-
 son, Finlayson and Ronald were indicted for hailing two rams horns
 to St Francis's head, putting a cow's rump to his tail, and eating a
 pie on all Hallow-even.

Hunter a butcher, simple and unlearned, was charged with haunt-
 ing the company of these hereticks.

Helen Stark was further charged with refusing to pray to the
 Virgin Mary when in child birth, and saying, that she would only
 pray to God in the name of Jesus Christ.

They were all imprisoned in the Spy tower, being found guilty
 and condemned. Great intercession was made to the Regent for
 them, who promised that they should not be hurt. The citizens
 were in a tumult, relying on the promise of Arran, dispersed
 and went peaceably home. The Cardinal, who had the regent in
 power, had taken his measures. Determined to make an exam-
 ple of these hereticks, he brought them forth next day to the gib-
 bet, January 25th, being St Paul's day, and fasted his eyes from
 the windows of the Spy tower with their execution. The men
 were hanged, and Helen Stark was drowned.

Robert Lamb, at the foot of the ladder, made a pathetic exhor-
 tion to the people, beseeching them to fear God, and forsake the
 den of Popish abominations. Helen Stark earnestly desired to
 go with her husband, but her request was refused; however, they
 permitted her to accompany him to the place of execution. In the
 scaffold she exhorted him to constancy in the cause of Christ; and as
 he parted with him, said, Husband, be glad, we have lived toge-
 ther many joyful days, and this day of our death, we ought to re-
 gard it the most joyful of them all, for we shall have joy for ever:
 therefore I will not bid you goodnight, for we shall shortly meet

Agruif * lay some, others with eyes to skyes,
 These yielding dying sobs, these mournfull cryes.
 Some by their fall were fixed on their spears,
 Some swat'ring in the floud the streame down bears,

In the kingdom of heaven, As soon as the men were executed the woman was taken to a pool of water hard by, where, having commended her children to the charity of her neighbours, sucking child being taken from her breast and given to a nurse, was drowned, and died with great courage and comfort. For Martyrologist, to whom we are obliged for this narrative which sent to him from Perth; adds further concerning Helen Stark, when she was demanded why she would not pray to the holy virgin when in the pains of childbirth; she replied, that if she lived in the days of the Virgin, God might have looked to her humility and base estate in making her the Mother of Christ; there were no merits in the Virgin to procure her that honour, to be preferred before other women; that it was God's free gift that exalted her to this honour. There were several priests in town who were hospitably entertained in the houses of these sisters, whose interest and intercession was requested in their behalf, which they refused, and desired their death. The regent was inclined to mercy; but the Cardinal and priests threatened to have him deposed if he refused to sign the warrant for their execution. The town was so enraged at this procedure, that no credit was given to the clergy afterwards. At this time Sir Henry Elder, Elder, Walter Piper, and Laurence Puller, with some other citizens of Perth were banished.

Before the Cardinal left Perth, the Regent, at his instigation, turned Lord Ruthven, Provost of the town out of his office, and gave it to John Chartres of Kinfauns who was allied to Lord Grey. The Cardinal hated Lord Ruthven because he was a favourer of the new religion, as it was called, and an opposer of his political measures, neither did Bethune love Grey who was no friend of him. But his policy was to sow discord between these two Lords, to weaken their interest which was against him—*divide et impera* was his maxim. This political stroke operated according to his wish. Citizens who loved Lord Ruthven, refused to acknowledge Chartres.

* Flat or groveling.

by chance some got a boat, What needs more words !

they make them oars of their two handed swords :

some doubting what to do, to leap or stay,

were trampled under foot as mirie clay ;

confusedly to fight and flee they thrimble †,

the shivering spears do through their bodies tremble,

and strongly brangled in splents do quickly flee,

the glistening sword is chang'd in-crimson dye ;

VOL. I.



P

To

their Provost, and would not allow him to enter the town. He
plied to his friend Lord Gray for assistance. Gray came with arm-
forces and attacked the town from the bridge ; but the tide did
not answer Kinfauns' intentions who was bringing up great guns by
water to storm the open side of the town, Ruthven had purposely
withdrawn his guards from the bridge into the neighbouring houses,
so that the bridge might seem to be left defenceless. Gray fell into
the snare, he boldly marched up into the town. Ruthven sudden-
ly sallied out and gave him a brisk charge which routed his party.
In their flight through narrow passages to the bridge, the last were
stopped by the foremost in the mouth of the passage, and in this con-
fusion many were trodden to death, and sixty fell by the sword. In-
consequence of this skirmish, and of Ruthven's victory was brought
the Cardinal, which affected him, but he was well pleased that
many of his enemies were destroyed, for he despaired of ever
winning them his friends, therefore he rejoiced to see them destroy
another *. This skirmish happened about sixteen years before
the dawn of the reformation. The seed was sown in Perth, which
gradually sprung up and was cherished under the protection of Lord
Ruthven and his party, after the violent death of those witnesses
of Christianity in opposition to Popery : which verifies the truth of
the ancient saying, *The blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the
Church* ; divine providence, which directs the counsels of great men,
have a way for the Reformation, turned their wisdom against
themselves. This skirmish, which happened on the 22d July 1544,
obliterated Lord Ruthven and his party in the town.

To press or squeeze.

Buchanan, lib. xv.

To wrak they go; even as the raging thunder,
 Rumbling and rolling roundly, breaks assunder
 A thick and dampish cloud, making a shower
 Of crystall gems, on earth's dry bosome powre,
 So broken was that cloud, the purple bloud
 In drops distilling, rather as a floud,
 The dry and dusty ground doth warmly draine;
 And dying bodies in their own blood staine,
 Or as the comets, or such meteors driven
 Or stars which do appear to fall from heaven.
 So tumbling headlong spears in hand they traile;
 As fire dragons, seem to have a taile;
 Or Phaeton, or some fulferious ball,
 So from the bridge in river do they fall.
 I pray thee *Gall*, quoth I, that storie show
 Some things I heard of it, and more would know,
 Tell it I pray. No, no, *Gall* did reply,
 Lest I offend our neighbour-town neer by *,
 When they shall hear how malice did provoke them,
 Ambition them guide and avarice choak them;
 Thinking upon our spoyles triumph to make,
 And on th' occasion given our town to wrak,
 With full commission purchast for the same,
 T' intrude a Provest, else with sword and flame

* Dundee is here meant; Lord Gray's house and estate lay
 in the neighbourhood, and probably his Lordship had brought
 people from Dundee to the battle of the bridge of Tay.

to destroy, given by the Cardinall,
 whose devotion then was govern'd all :
 in that morning soon by break of day,
 the town all silent did beset, then they
 to clim the bridge begin and port to skall,
 the chaines they break, and let the drawbridge fall,
 the little gate of purpose was left patent,
 and all our citizens in lanes were latent,
 none durst be seene, the enemies to allure
 their own destruction justly to procure ;
 thus entring, though well straitly, one did call,
 'tis our owne, come fellow-soldiers all,
 advance your lordlie pace ; take and destroy,
 build up your fortunes ; Oh, with what great joy,
 these words were heard ! Then did they proudly step
 men advanc'd on stilts, and cock their cap.
 with rouling eyes they looke, and hand in side
 crowing their noses, snuffe, and with great pride,
 self-looking set their brawnes, themselves admire,
 and doubting at their own hearts closely speare
 if it be they, thus wondering do they pause
 a prettie while, anone they quickly loose
 with swifter pace, and turning round, they move
 where be any gazer to approve
 their great conceat ; thus, inly filled with glie,
 they wish their wife or mistres might them see :
 whenning *Alcides*, they his strength would try,
 and in their braine the world they do defie.

With such brave thoughts they throng in through the port,
 Thinking the play of fortune bairnely sport,
 And as proud peacocks with their plumes do prank
 Alongst the bridge they merche in battle rank,
 Till they came to the gate with yron bands,
 Hard by where yet our ladies chappell stands *,
 Thinking to break these bars it made some hover,
 Too strong they were, therefore some did leap over,
 Some crept below, thus many passe in by them,
 And in their high conceat they do defie them.
 Foreward within the town a space they go,
 The passage then was strait, as well ye know,
 Made by a wall, having gain'd so much ground
 They can exult : Incontinent did sound
 A trumpet from a watch-towre; then they start,
 And all their bloud do strike into their heart :
 A wondrous change ! even now the bravest fellows
 In their own fanfies glasse, who came to quell us,
 The vital spirits their artires do containe,
 Their panting hearts now scarcely can sustaine.
 Our soldiers then, who lying were a darning,
 By sound of trumpet having got a warning,
 Do kyth, and give the charge ; to tell the rest
 Ye know it well, it needs not be exprest,

* The chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, stood where
 gavel of the prison stands, near to the great gate of the bridge.
 The priests had access down to the river by a stair on the
 west side of the bridge, called our *Lady's Steps*.

port, any to ground were born, much blood was shed,
 was the prettiest man that fastest fled.
 , happie had they been, if place had served
 flee, then doubtlesse more had been preserved.
 thin these bars were kill'd above threescore
 on the bridge and waters many more.
 t most of all did perish in the chace,
 r they pursued were unto the place,
 here all their baggage and their cannon lay,
 hich to the town was brought as lawfull prey.
 What shall I more say? if you more would have,
 speak of these three hundreth soldiers brave *,

Like

* The barbarous execution at Perth in 1544 before mentioned,
 innocent persons for the Protestant faith, instead of quenching
 flame which burned imperceptibly, encreased it, together with
 settled aversion to the priests and their superstition. The refor-
 mation began to spread by the very means that were taken to sup-
 press it. The cruel and illegal burning of George Wisheart, son
 the laird of Pittarrow, a fervent preacher of the gospel, filled
 Andrew's, where he was burned by Cardinal Bethune, with Pro-
 testants, and also Dundee and Montrose where he usually preached.
 The death of Walter Mylne priest of Lunan near Montrose, a good
 man above eighty years old, who was also burnt at St Andrew's
 D. 1558 by Archbishop Hamilton, exasperated the whole coun-
 try. The lords of the congregation (as they were then called), dis-
 played their banners in defence of their lives and liberties. The
 regent Queen had professed moderation towards the reformers, but
 receiving intelligence that the public exercise of the reformed reli-
 gion had been introduced into Perth; she pulled off the mask, and
 commanded all the Protestant preachers in the kingdom to be sum-
 moned to a court of justice which was to be held at Stirling the
 10th of May 1559. The Protestants were alarmed, but not inti-
 midated by this danger; they instantly resolved not to abandon the
 cause, to whom they were indebted for the most valuable of all bles-
 sings,

Like these renown'd *Lacedemonians*,
 Courageous *Thebans* valiant *Thespians*,
 Resolv'd to die, led by *Leonidas*,
 Stopt *Xerxes* armie at *Thermopylas*,
 Such were these men who for *religion's* sake,
 A cord of hemp about their necks did take,
 Solemnly sworn, to yield their lives thereby,
 Or they the gospel's veritie deny :
 Quitting their houses, goods, and pleasures all,
 Resolv'd for any hazard might befall,
 Did passe forth of the town in armes to fight,
 And die, or they their libertie and light
 Should lose, and whosoever should presume
 To turn away, that cord should be his doome.

sings, the knowledge of the truth. They convened in great numbers to attend their pastors to Stirling. The Queen dreaded their approach with a train so numerous, though unarmed, and in order to prevent them from advancing, she empowered John Erskine of Dun, a person of eminent authority with the party, to promise in her name, that she would put a stop to the intended tryal, on condition, the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling. Erskine, being convinced of the Queen's sincerity, served her with the utmost zeal. The Protestants, averse from proceeding to any acts of violence, listened with pleasure to so pacific a proposition. The preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth. The multitude, which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom, dispersed, and retired to their own habitations.

" Notwithstanding this solemn promise, the Queen, on the 10th of May, proceeded to call to tryal the persons who had been summoned; and, upon their non-appearance, the rigour of justice took place, and they were pronounced out-laws. By this ignoble article so incompatible with real dignity, and so inconsistent with the

Hence of Saint *Johnston's* ribband came the word
 such a frequent use, when with a cord
 they threaten rogues; though now all in contempt
 they speak, yet brave and resolute attempt,

And

ty which should prevail in all transactions between Sovereigns
 and their subjects, the Queen forfeited the esteem and confidence of
 the whole nation."

We are informed by Buchanan, that a parliament was summoned
 to be held at Stirling the 10th of May; and that the Queen said,
 at now, when she was free from other cares, she would not suffer
 the majesty of government to be debased. but would restore it to
 its ancient glory by some eminent examples. These words portend-
 ed a storm, therefore many applied for her favour. The Prote-
 stants deputed Alexander Cunningham Earl of Glencairn and Sir
 Hugh Campbell sheriff of Air, their commissioners to soften the
 Queen. To their humble supplication and remonstrance, she replied
 in a haughty tone, "Do you and your ministers what you will or
 can, yea, though they preach never so sincerely, they shall all be
 banished." They begged her to remember what she had so often
 promised to promise them; to which she answered, That "the
 promises of princes were to be no further urged than suited their
 convenience." The Commissioners then told her with spirit, that
 they would renounce all allegiance and subjection to her, and ad-
 dressed her to consider the consequences. She was unexpectedly struck
 by this spirited answer, and her wrath began to subside; but, ha-
 ving received intelligence that Perth had publicly embraced the re-
 formed religion, she turned to Lord Ruthven who was present and
 commanded him to exercise his authority as provost, and suppress
 these tumults and innovations in religion. He answered, That he
 had no power over their bodies and estates, and those he would take
 care should do no hurt, but that he had no dominion over their
 consciences. At which answer she was so enraged, that she said, she
 hoped none would think it strange, if he were shortly made to re-
 pent his stubborn impudence." At the same time she commanded
 James Halyburton sheriff of Dundee to seize and send prisoner to
 Paul Methven, a zealous reformer, and in great esteem; the
 sheriff gave him notice to retire and save his life. She ordered all
 assemblies to keep the ensuing Easter, according to the rites of
 the Church of Rome. They disobeyed, which so provoked her,
 that

And full of courage, worthy imitation
 Deserving of all ages commendation
 Made these men put it on, symbole to be,
 They ready were for Christ to do or die.
 For they were Martyrs all in their affection,
 And like to *David's* worthies in their action;
 Therefore this cord should have been made a badge,
 And signe of honour to the after-age.

that she ordered all the ministers to be summoned to answer at Stirling the 10th of May. Matters stood in this ticklish posture, when Knox arrived at Perth*.

Upon the eleventh of May, the day after the preachers were all exiled, Knox preached in the kirk of Perth a zealous and animated sermon against the idolatry of the church of Rome.

After sermon, the most respectable citizens went home to dine in a peaceable manner. The indiscretion of a priest, who, after the sermon, was preparing to celebrate Mass, and began to decorate the altar for that purpose, precipitated the people who rushed into action, with tumultuary, but irresistible violence; they ran upon the churches; overturned the altars; defaced the pictures; broke in pieces the images; and, proceeding next to the Monasteries, in a few hours they laid these sumptuous fabricks almost level with the ground. This riotous insurrection was not the effect of concert, or any previous deliberation: Censured by the reforming preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of most power and credit with the party, it must be regarded merely as an accidental irruption of popular rage†.

The Queen having heard with concern the destruction of the religious houses at Perth, the *Chartrioux Monastery* especially, which was a stately pile of building and a royal palace, and the repository of the remains of the first James, she determined to inflict the most just revenge on the whole party. She had already drawn her troops in French pay to Stirling, with these and what Scottish forces she could levy of a sudden, she marched directly to Perth, with hopes of surprising the Protestant leaders, before they could assemble.

* Knox. Buchanan.

† Roberfone.

as we see things in themselves despised,
 such rare accidents are highly prized,
 and in brave skuttheons honourably born,
 with mottoes rare these symbols to adorn.

Vol. I.



Q

Thus

their followers, whom, out of confidence in her disingenuous
 misfies, they had been rashly induced to dismiss. Intelligence of
 the preparatiōne and menaces was soon conveyed to Perth. The
 restants animated with zeal for religion, and eager to expose
 themselves in so good a cause, flocked in such numbers to Perth,
 not only secured the town from danger, but within a few days
 were in a condition to take the field, and to face the Queen who ad-
 vanced with an army 7000 strong commanded by D'Oysel the
 French General, a creature of the house of Guise. The army
 encamped and pitched their tents at Auchterardour, ten miles west from
 Perth, guarding all the avenues to that city. The Earl of Glen-
 cairn, by rapid marching through by-paths and narrow ways, elud-
 ed D'Oysel's utmost precaution, and arrived the 27th of May with
 an reinforcement of 2500 men from Kyle, Cuninghame, and Glasgow.
 The Queen dreaded the event of a battle with men, whom the fer-
 vor of religion raised above the sense of fear, or of danger. The
 restants beheld with regret, the Earl of Argyle, the Prior of
 St. Andrew's, and some other eminent persons of their party, still
 adhering to the Queen. and destitute of their aid and counsel, de-
 clined hazarding an action, the ill success of which might have pro-
 duced the ruin of their cause. The prospect of an accommodation
 was, for these reasons, highly acceptable to both sides. Commis-
 sioners were appointed to negotiate a treaty. Erskine of Dun, O-
 ne of Innercarthy, and Scot of Abbotshall were sent by the
 Lords of the Congregation, who met with the Earl of Argyle and
 James Stewart Prior of St. Andrew's, the Queen's Commissioners,
 who were sincerely desirous of reconciling the contending factions;
 the Earl of Glencairn's unexpected arrival with a powerful rein-
 forcement to the Congregation, augmented the Queen's eagerness
 for peace †.

A treaty was accordingly concluded, in which it was stipulated,
 that the armies should be disbanded, and the gates of Perth set open to
 the

Thus some have vermine, and such loathsome swarms,
 Yet honourably born are in their armes;
 And some have mice, some frogs, some filthy rats,
 And some have wolves and foxes, some have cats;

the Queen; that indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late insurrection; that no French garrison should be left in Perth, and no French soldiers should approach within three miles of that place; and that a parliament should immediately be held, in order to compose whatever differences might still remain *. The congregation with their leaders were so sincere in their intention of keeping the peace, that with one voice they cried, "Accursed be they that seek effusion of blood; let us profess Christ Jesus, and the benefit of his gospel" and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we "shall be †." But, distrustful of the Queen's sincerity, and sensible that concessions flowing not from inclination, but extorted by the necessity of her affairs, could not long remain in force: they entered into a new association, by which they bound themselves to the first infringement of the present treaty, or on the least appearance of danger to their religion, to re-assemble their followers, and to take arms in defence of what they esteemed the cause of God and of their country ‡. This covenant was signed in their names Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrew's, Glencairn, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and Campbell of Teringland.

Upon the 29th of May the Queen entered Perth with the Duke of Hamilton, and the French General D'Oysel, and by her conduct demonstrated these precautions to be the result of no groundless or unnecessary fear. No sooner were the Protestant forces dismissed, than she broke every article of the treaty. She introduced French troops into Perth; and while Patrick Murray, one of the reformers with his family, from a balcony, were beholding the French troops marching down the street, the soldiers levelled six or seven shot at the place, and killed his son, a boy about twelve years old. His dead body was carried before the Queen, who, understanding whose son he was, expressed her sympathy in these words "It is pity that it chanced on the son, and not on the father, but seeing that it so hath happened, we cannot be against fortune." This was her happy entry into Perth. The whole town was

† Knox. Robertstone. † Knox, ‡ Robertstone. Knox.

* Knox.

et honourable respect in all is had,
though in themselves they loathsome be and bad.

Thus *Millaine* glories in the banefull viper,
as none more honour, misterie no deeper;

Q 2

The

possessed by the French; a swarm of priests entered with her, and began to make preparations for celebrating Mass. Lord Ruthven and the bailies were stripped of their authority. John Chartres of Infauns was made Provost, who was no friend to the Reformers, and who bore a hostile hatred to the citizens since the year 1544. He was the Queen's tool in fineing, imprisoning, and banishing the inhabitants, but his reign was short *.

The Queen, on her retiring to Stirling, left behind her a garrison of 600 men with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion than the Roman Catholic. The situation of Perth, at that time of some strength, and a town the most proper of any in the kingdom for the station of a garrison, seems to have allured the Queen to this unjustifiable and ill-judged breach of public faith, which she endeavoured to colour by alledging, that the body of men left at Perth, was composed of native Scots, though kept in pay by the King of France †. The Queen's scheme began gradually to unfold; it was now apparent, that not only the religion, but the liberties of the kingdom were threatened; and that the French troops, about 3000 in number, commanded by D'Oysel a creature of the house of Guise, were to be employed as instruments for subduing the Scots, and wreathing the yoke about their necks. The Earl of Argyle and Prior of St. Andrew's, instantly deserted a court, where faith and honour seemed to be no longer regarded. The banners from the neighbouring counties repairing to them at St. Andrew's. The preachers roused the people to arms; and, wherever they came, the same violent operations, which accident had occasioned at Perth, were now encouraged out of policy. The engaged multitude was let loose, and churches and monasteries, the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury, were sacrificed to their zeal.

In order to check their career, the Queen, without losing a moment, put her troops in motion; but the zeal of the congregation at the start once more of her vigilance and activity. Though they set out from St. Andrews with a slender train of an hundred horse;

* Knox.

† Robertstone.

The antient *Gaul's* in toads, in lillies now
Metamorphos'de: the *Phrygians* in their sow.

Athens their owle with th' eagle will not barter,
And *Honisoit* who thinks ill of the garter.

horse; crowds flocked to their standards from every corner of the country through which they marched, and before they reached Falkland, only ten miles distant, they were able to face the Queen with superior force.

The Queen, surprized at the approach of so formidable a body, had again recourse to negotiation; she found, however, that the preservation of the Protestant religion, zeal for which had at first roused the leaders of the congregation to take arms, was not the only object they had now in view. They were animated with the warmest love of civil liberty, which they conceived to be in imminent danger, from the attempts of the French forces; and the two passions mingling, added reciprocally to each others strength. Knox and the other preachers of the reformation, infused general sentiments concerning government into the minds of their hearers, and the Scottish barons, naturally free and bold, were prompted to assert their rights with more freedom and boldness than ever. Instead of obeying the Queen-Regent who had enjoined them to lay down their arms, they demanded not only the redress of their religious grievances, but as a preliminary towards settling the nation, and securing its liberties, they required the immediate expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland *.

In order to amuse them, and gain time, she agreed to a cessation of arms for eight days, and, before the expiration of these, engaged to transport the French troops to the south-side of the Forth, and to send Commissioners to St. Andrew's, who should labour to bring all differences to accommodation, as she hoped by means of the French troops to overawe the Protestants in the southern counties, the former article in the treaty was punctually executed, the latter having been inserted merely to amuse the congregation, and no longer remembered.

By these reiterated wanton instances of perfidy, the Queen lost all credit with her adversaries; and no safety appearing in any other course, they again took arms with more inflamed resentment,

* Rober tstone.

that shall be said then of this rope or cord
 though of all men it be now abhorr'd,
 and spoke of in disdain, their ignorance
 hath made them so to speak, yet may it chance

When

with bolder and more extensive views. The removing of the French
 had laid open to them all the country situated between Forth
 and Tay. The inhabitants of Perth alone remaining subjected to
 the insolence and exactions of the garrison which the Queen had
 there, implored the assistance of the congregation for their re-
 lief. Thither Argyle, the Prior, and Lord Ruthven marched; and
 though, without effect, required the Queen to evacuate the town in
 pursuance of the former treaty, they, on refusal, prepared to besiege it.
 The Queen employed the Earl of Huntly and Lord Er-
 skine to divert them from this enterprize. Her wonted artifices
 were now of no avail, repeated so often they could deceive no
 longer; and, without listening to her offers, they continued the
 siege. Lord Ruthven attacked it on the west, and Provost Halybur-
 ton with his people from Dundee fired with his artillery from the
 east, and soon obliged them to capitulate upon the 26th of June
 1599.

After the reduction of Perth, the populace went to Scone to de-
 stroy the Abbey and palace. Patrick Hepburn Bishop of Mur-
 ray, son of the first Earl of Bothwell of that name, held the Abba-
 cy in perpetual commendam, and resided in the palace, he had been
 ever a scourge to the Reformers, and was obnoxious to them, e-
 ven since the death of Mr Walter Mylne, who, by his particular
 friendship, was burnt at St. Andrew's; they, with assistance from Dun-
 dee, attacked the Abbey and palace, though guarded by a hun-
 dred horsemen; Halyburton Provost of Dundee, with his brother, and
 John Knox, hearing of this tumult, went and intreated the people to
 spare the edifices, to whom they hearkened, and separated, after
 they had destroyed the monuments of idolatry; but the next day,
 a citizen of Dundee, was run through the body with a sword by
 one of the Bishops sons, while he was looking in at the door of the
 Bishop's granary, which so enraged the people both of Perth and
 Dundee; that they quickly repaired to Scone, and, notwithstand-
 ing the entreaties of Argyle, Ruthven, the Prior, and all the preach-
 ers,

When they shall know the truth, they will speak better,
 And think of it as of a greater matter,
 And truly it esteeme an hundred fold,
 Of much more honour than a chaine of gold.

ers, they pillaged and set fire to these noble edifices, and burnt them to the ground on the 27th of June. An aged matron, whose house was near to the Abbey, when she beheld it in flames, said
 " Now I see that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able
 " to save, where he will punish: this place since I could remember
 " hath been nothing but a den of whoremongers, it is incredible
 " believe how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins de-
 " flowered by the filthy beasts who have been fostered in this den
 " but especially by that wicked man who is called *the Bishop*; if
 " men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man
 " would be offended *."

Amidst these irregular proceedings, a circumstance which does honour to the conduct and humanity of the leaders of the congregation, deserves notice; they so far restrained the rage of their followers, and were able so to temper their heat and zeal; that few of the Roman Catholicks were exposed to any personal insult, and not a single man suffered death †. At the same time we discover by the facility with which these great revolutions were effected, how violently the national favour ran towards the reformation.

After the loss of *Perth*, the Queen endeavoured to seize *Stirling*. Argyle and the Prior, leaders of the congregation, having received intelligence of her design, marched out of *Perth* with three hundred citizens, resolved to prosecute the reformation or perish in the attempt, having felt the severe yoke of the French government and Kinfauns' magistracy: To shew their zeal and resolution, instead of ribbands, they put ropes about their necks; that, whoever deserted the colours, should certainly be hanged by these ropes. From this circumstance, arose the Proverb of *St. Johnston's Ribbands*. A picture of their march out of *Perth*, painted in the Town clerk's office is to be seen at this day, with ropes about their necks. With this inconsiderable force they advanced; but, wherever they came, the people joined them in a body, their army was seldom
 numerous

* Knox.

† Robertson.

us may you see *Monfieur*, men of renown
 old time have possess'd this antient town,
 and yet this may we boast, even to this day,
 of good wit and worth do not decay;
 to this houre some footsteps still remains
 such couragious hearts and cunning braines.
 Good Master *Gall*, quoth I, I know that well,
 of you speak and clearly can it tell,
 I did see these men, being then of age,
 me twelve or thirteen years, a prettie page,
 easily you may guesse, and can you show
 the partiall poynts whereof you nothing know,
 are they written. Then answered Master *Gall*,
 witnesse such as you is above all
 ception; therefore shew what you did see,
 heare, good *Monfieur*, your antiquitie

ous than 5000 men. The gates of Stirling, and every other
 were thrown open to receive them, where they took care to
 destroy every monument of Popish superstition; and, without stri-
 king a blow, they took possession of the capital of the kingdom, and
 purged the Kirks of idols, they placed the reformed preach-
 ing in them. This rapid and astonishing success, seems to have en-
 couraged the Reformers to extend their views, and to rise in their
 hands. Not satisfied with their first claim of toleration for their
 religion, they now openly aimed at establishing the Protestant doc-
 trine on the ruin of popery; for this reason they determined to fix
 their residence at Edinburgh. And by their appointment, Knox,
 Melville, and some other preachers taking possession of the pul-
 pit, which had been abandoned by the affrightened clergy, de-
 clared against the errors of Popery with such fervent zeal as could
 not fail of gaining many proselytes *.

* Robertson.

Is of great credit : Master *Gall*, quoth I,
 Much did I see, and much more did I try :
 My father was a man active, and wight
 In those dayes, and who helped for to fight
 The battle of the bridge, within few years
 Thereafter was I borne, then all our quires
 And convents richly stood, which I did see
 With all their pomp ; but these things told to me,
 First will I shew, a storie of much ruth,
 How that our Martyrs suffered for the truth
 Of Christ's blest gospel, on *Paul's* holy day †,
 Before the fight was of the bridge of *Tay* ‡
 In that same yeere, the silly Governor
 Led by the crafty Cardinall, with power
 Held judgement on these men, and under trust
 Condemn'd them ; nothing their bloudie lust
 Could satiate : The citizens, made sure
 Their neighbours should not lose nor skaith endure,
 Go to their homes, forthwith the Cardinall
 Cause lead them unto execution all.
 And from the *Spey* tower window did behold
 Doome execut, even as his cleargie would :
 Which treacherous fact did so enrage the town,
 No credit more to black, white, nor gray gown
 After these dayes was given. Thus in the place
 Where malefactors end their wicked race,

 † January 25.

‡ July 22. 1544.

these innocents do make a blessed end,
 And unto God their spirits they recommend,
 Witnesse of the faith, for which they die,
 And by the sp'rit of truth did prophesie
 These words, looking and pointing with the hand
 Towards our monasteries which then did stand
 Most sumptuously adorn'd with steeples, bells,
 Church-ornaments, and what belongeth else,
 These foxes which do lurke within these holes,
 Delighting in the earth like blinded moles,
 Drown'd in their lusts, and swimming in their pleasures,
 Whose God their belly, whose chief joy their treasures;
 Who caused have our death, shall hounded be
 Worth of these dens, some present here shall see
 The same ere it be long, then shall yee say,
 'Tis for God's truth that we have dyed this day.
 And all these sumptuous buildings shall be cast
 Down to the earth, made desolat, and wast:
 This to performe God's zeale shall eat men up,
 To fill the double potion in their cup;
 The apples then of pleasure, which they loved
 And lusted after, shall be all removed.
 Yea, scarcely shall they finde a hole to hide
 Their heads (thus by the Sp'rite they testified.)
 And in that day true pastors shall the Lord
 Give up to feed his flock, with his pure word,
 And make Christ's people by peculiar choice
 To knowe the shepherds from the hyrelings voice."

Which as they did foretell, did come to passe,
 Some sixteene years, or thereby, more or lesse.
 Thus with cleare signes, by God's own sp'rit exprest,
 In full assurance of heaven's blesse they rest.
 Mean while Saint Catharine's chaplain standing by *,
 Wringing his eyes and hands did often cry,
 Alace, alace, for this unhappie turn,
 I feare for it one day we shall all mourn,
 And that by all it shall be plainly said,
 That we blind guides, the blinded long have led,
 Some churchmen there bad pack him heretick,
 Else certainly they should cause burne him quick.
 This done, friends take their bodies, and with mourning
 Do carry them towards the town, returning
 With heaue hearts, them to this chapel bring
 But no soule *Masse*, nor *dirige* durst sing.
 Yet this good Priest did lay them on the altar,
 And all night read th' epistle, and the psalter,
 With heart devout, and sad; from th' evening vapours,
 Placing upon the altar, burning tapers
 Unto the dawning: exequies thus ended,
 Their bodies to the earth, are recommended.

This chappel some time stood by our theater †,
 Where I my self sprinkled with holy water,

* Sir Henry Elder priest was amongst the banished for the fact he shewed to Lamb and his associates, p. 112, he might probably be the chaplain of St. Catharine's.

† The chapel stood without the north west port on the north of the caseway. Vid. p. 32. note.

After these dayes did often hear the Messe,
 albeit I knew not what it did expresse;
 At this I saw, a man with shaven crown,
 Raz'd beard, and lips, who look't like a baboun,
 Perfum'd with odours, and in priestly vestures,
 And act this mimick toy with thousand gestures;
 Mistrie indeed, nor which no fable
 Acted on stage to make you laugh more able.
 After these innocents were martyred thus
 As you have heard, churchmen were odious,
 And, when occasion serv'd, so did they finde,
 So soone, as did blow a contrare winde,
 The houre was come, and then our Knox did sound,
 All down their idols, throw them to the ground.
 The multitude, even as a speat, did rush then
 In powder beat; and call'd them all *Nehushtan*.
 For Blackfriars church and place, Whitefriars, and Gray;
 Tosan'd, and cast to ground were in one day.
 The charter house like a citadale did hold
 Some two dayes more, untill these news were told
 They should be raz'd and sack't, and brought to ground,
 Not so much as a footstep should be found,
 There was such citie, neither sexe, nor age
 Could saved be, untill the cruell rage
 Of fire and sword should satiat that moud,
 Quenching the fire with citizens owne blood,
 And with destruction's besome sweep from station,
 And sow with salt; perpetual desolation

To signifie these newes made great commotion,
 The fearfull people ran to their devotion :
 Doctrine and prayers done, chief men advise,
 To take in hand first what great enterprife.
 Said one, this place hard by our town doth stand *
 A mightie strength, which earely may command,
 And wrecke our citie, therefore let us go
 In time, and to the ground it overthrow,
 For sure our enemies will possesse the same,
 And us from thence destroy with sword and flame,
 Even at their pleasure. Then they all conclude
 In armes to rise ; and rushing as a flood
 Which overflows the banks, and headlong hurles
 The strongest bulwarks with devouring whirles,
 Swallowing the mighty ships them overwhelm,
 Nothing avails his skill that guides the helme :
 Even so the multitude in armes arise
 With noise confusde of mirth and mourning cryes
 For that fair Palace, then sixscore nine years †
 Which had continued ; turning of the spheres
 The fatal period brought, to ground it must,
 And all its pomp and riches turne to dust.
 Even as these Martyrs truly did foretell
 In every point the judgement so befell.
 Towres fall to ground, Monks flee to hide their heads,
 Nothing avails their rosaries and beads ;

* Chartreux Monastery,

† The monastery was built A. D. 1420, seven years before
 murder of James I. and had stood 129 years when it was destroyed.

When all men cry'd, Raze, raze, the time is come;
 To avenge the guiltless blood, and give the doome.
 Courage to give was mightily then blown
 At Johnston's huntsup *; since most famous known
 To all musicians, when they sweetly sing
 With heavenly voice, and well concording string.
 Now they bend their backs and fingers tirl !
 Moving their quivering heads, their brains do whirl
 With divers moods ; and as with uncouth rapture
 Transported, so doth shake their bodies structure :
 Their eyes do reele, heads, armes, and shoulders move :
 Feet, legs, and hands, and all their parts approve
 That heavenly harmonic ; while as they throw
 Their browes, O mighty strain ! that's brave ! they shew
 Great fantasie ; quivering a brief some while,
 With full consent they close, then give a smile,
 With bowing bodie, and with bending knee,
 Think I heare, *God save the companie.*
 The harmonic which heavens and earth doth please,
 Should not our enemies furious rage appease,
 Well *Erinnis* reignes destruction shoring †,
 A thousand soldiers like wild Lyons roaring
 Against our town do march. Fame, defolation
 Claims ; the church then nam'd the *congregation*
 Takes for defence : but ah, the burgh's distractions !
 Quakers and Protestants make diverse factions ;
 The
 A song now unknown ; the poet describes the war-dance by the
 motions of the body, practised yet among the Highlanders.
 Threatening,

The town to hold impossible they finde,
 The fields to take they purpose in their minde,
 Factions within, munition, victual scarce,
 Hardly to hold eight dayes they finde by search.

Amids these doubts these valiant fellows come
 In armes array'd, and beating of the drum,
 With cords about their necks, Come, come, they cry,
 We be the men who are resolv'd to die.
 First in this quarrel: we to death will fight,
 So long as courage will afford us might,
 And who so yields alive, this tow portends,
 Streight must he hing where did our dearest friends
 Who suffered for the truth, nothing we skunner*,
 This certainly we count our chiefeft honour.
 Thus as *Manasses* half tribe, *Reuben*, *Gad*,
 Do leave their cattle, and mount *Gilead*,
 Before their brethren over *Jordan* go,
 In armes to fight against their curst foe;
 So these three hundred do abandon quite
 Their citie, houses, goods, and chief delight,
 Resolv'd to die all for the gospel's light,
 Armed before their brethren march to fight;
 And having gain'd a place meet to abide,
 Their enemies to resist, courage they cry'd,
 Be merrie fellowes all, leave sad complaints,
 Dine chearfully, for sup we shall with Saints,
 Fame spreads the brave attempt, all martial hearts
 Inflam'd with divine zeale flock to these parts.

† i. e. Turn the stomach, loathe.

From places most remote, in armes they rise
 To assist the matchlesse happie enterprise.
 And giveth hearts to men, and mightiest things
 By weakest means he to confusion brings:
 Their enemies ears are fill'd that all our feare
 Into courage turned from despair;
 Their fire rage is quencht, their hearts do faile,
 Where God forsakes nought doth man's strength availe.
 When what their open force could not work out,
 By slight they endeavour to bring about,
 They treat of peace: Peace flees with joyfull wings,
 And under it was hatcht most lewd designs
 When time should serve: but he whose thought doth rule
 This world's great frame their madness did controule;
 And graciously through his abundant pitie
 Preserv'd our innocents, and sav'd our citie.
 When by small means they found themselves confounded,
 And to their very heart-roots they were wounded:
 When they began to raile, and shew their passion,
 Such ribbands meet for such profession.
 In contempt, when any rogue they see,
 They say, *Saint Johnstons ribband's meet for thee*.
 Any fellow resolute in minde
 For some great act, this ribband fit they finde

For

This proverb is well understood in Perth, and through the
 it is applied to people who deserve to be hanged. Perth is
 St. Johnstown from John Baptist, its tutelary Saint in the
 of Popery.

For such a one, thus time made all men use
 This word, and ignorance through time t'abuse,
 For every bad conceit, which for religion
 Was stoutly undertaken in the region:
 Which I did see, and heare, and well do know,
 And for your life the parallel me show
 In all the world; except *Leonidas*
 The rest, without a third I overpasse.
 Thus our Saint *Johnston's* ribband took the name,
 Whereof we have no reason to think shame.

Our skipper herewith call'd, HOW, turn aback,
 The waters flow, and tide doth quickly make:
 Therefore of this to speak more was no leisure,
 For wind and tide (you know) stay no man's pleasure.
 With post-haste to our berge we make our way,
 The day far spent, longer we might not stay;
 Our ship now fairly fleeting comes a land,
 Two skillful rowers take the oars in hand,
 We re-embarked, down the river slide,
 Which was most pleasant with the flowing tide,
 The bridge draws nigh where contrare streams do run,
 Take heed, skipper, said we, these dangers shun,
 The whirling stream will make our boat to coup*,
 Therefore let's passe the bridge by *Wallace* loup. †

* Overfet or tumble.

† Wallace's leap over a branch of the river Tay near to
 bridge of Perth, must be numbered among the fabulous legends,
 tailed by old women and children, concerning Wallace.

Which when we did behold, 'mongst other things

We much admir'd who lent his feet such wings :

Empedocles may leap in *Ætna* burning,

Tiber leap may *Cocles* home returning,

Wh' one burns in flame, the other falls in flood,

But *Wallace* overleaping makes all good.

When we these heaven-like arches had survey'd,

We admir'd in th' air these hinging stones what stay'd.

Then thus, said *Gall*, these on their centers stay

On their bases fixt, and all their sway

They presse toward the same, a wondrous thing,

Beit the center in the air doth hing ;

See, diverse circles, sections diverse wayes

Tend to their proper centers, as their staves ;

These two sections do conjoine in one,

To make the arch, and finish in a cone,

Everie peace these bowing arches bends,

Rightlie pointing to the center tends.

The heavens respect the earth, and all their powers

Together in her bosome strongly powres,

Which is their center, roote, and sure pedestall,

The stedfast base whereon this world doth rest all.

Thus man's ingine God's works doth imitate,

And skilfull art doth nature emulate.

Wh' *Archimedes* in a sphere of glasse,

The world's great fabrick lively did expresse,

With all the stars fixt in the azure heaven,

And all the motions of the wand'ring seven,

Moving about a fixed point or center,
 Observing houres, dayes, months, summer, and winter.
 Even so the arches of this bridge proclaime,
 And shew the building of the starrie frame :
 Bat now all lost, needs *Archimedes*' skill,
 Oh, if it were supplied by *Master Mylne* * !

* We have already observed (p. 82.) that the bridge which was destroyed in 1621, was but lately *finished* before that destruction. It was built under the direction of Mr *Mylne* a celebrated architect whose progenitor was distinguished by James III. who was a great patron and encourager of Masonry. Mr *Mylne*'s tomb lies in the Grayfriars burying-place, with the following inscription without date.

This stone entombs the dust of famous *Mill*,
 Renowned chiefly in his time for skill
 In architecture, his learned art did lay
 The spacious arches of the bridge of *Tay*,
 Which as demolish'd by a mighty spate,
 So was his fabric by the course of fate :
 Six *lustres* since, and more his progenie
 Succeeding to that art their Sire outvy ;
 And this assign'd, his worth deserved one
 Of jet or marble, not of common stone.
 Seven foot of ground, clay-flour, clay-wall,
 Serve both for chamber and for hall
 To Master *Mill* whose squarbuile brain †,
 Could ten escorialls well containe,
 Whill he breath'd life, yet in his sonne,
 And sonne's sonne, he lives two for one ;
 Who, to advance *Mill*'s art and fame,
 Make stocks and stones speak out his name.

One of his descendants removed to Edinburgh and built *Mylne*'s court, *Mylne*'s-square, and other buildings about the Abbey. T

† A *French* word adopted into the old *Scottish* language, and used in the northern counties to signify an ingenious artist who understands every Science.

thus having past the bridge, our oars we bend
to shore, so this day-voyage made an end.

S 2

celebrated Architects Mr *Robert Mylne* at London, and his brother
Mr *Mylne* at Edinburgh are descended from him. The reputation
of these two brothers, and their abilities in Architecture, are well
known. An extract of a letter from a gentleman at Rome to his
friend in Edinburgh, published in the Scots Magazine October 1758,
reflects great honour on *Robert*. I shall give it to the curious Reader.
“ In the late concourse held by the celebrated Academy of St.
Pete, Mr *Robert Mylne*, Architect from Edinburgh has gained
great honour, by carrying off the first prize in the highest class of
architecture.

The subject given out, was the plan, elevation, and section, with
perspective view of a building for holding statues, inscriptions, &c
of great men, and a place adorned in the most magnificent manner,
for the use of public Academies; the whole to take up 3000 *brachio's* * of ground, and the competitors were allowed seven months
to perform it in.

On the 6th of September the drawings were given in, on the 7th,
the competitors made their *provas* †; in a few days after, the draw-
ings were adjudged in presence of Cardinal Camerlingi; and the
first prize was unanimously given to Mr *Mylne*.

On the 18th the great *sale* in the *Senatour's* palace, in the capi-
tal, was superbly decorated for the occasion. There were present
sixteen Cardinals, all the foreign Ambassadors, most of the nobility,
and a vast number of ladies and gentlemen of the first distinction
from all quarters. Nothing could be more august and solemn, more
beautiful and elegant, than this assembly; nor could any thing be
more conducive towards striking an awe into the breast of our young
candidate and his fellow *premiati*, who were placed on a kind of
throne, higher and more conspicuous than any of the rest.

After an excellent oration, the *premiati* were called each by his
name, and that of his country; and medals, struck for the occasion,
were

* a *brachio* is near three English feet.

† A *prova* is a drawing made in presence of the Judges, in or-
der to prove, that what each person gives in, is his own perform-
ance. The piece given on this occasion to the competitors of the
first class, was an altar adorned with composite columns, which they
were obliged to perform in two hours.

were delivered to them by the Cardinals. Two large silver medals of about five crowns value each, with the effigies of the present Pope, on the one side, and on the reverse, St. Luke painting the Madonna, were presented to Mr *Mylne* by Cardinal *Sacropanti*, who paid him a very high compliment on the merit of his performance. Then the Cardinals, and the nobility and gentry, paid him their respective compliments, as the *first Briton* that ever gained the prize. The Acadian poets rehearsed Sonettos, in honour of the victors, and the whole was accompanied by the finest symphonies of music.

The concourse of St. Luke is extremely grand; like the famous Olympic games, it is held but once in four years; like them too the great men from all quarters assemble to compete for the prizes, which, like the celebrated rewards of antient Greece, are valuable not for their intrinsic worth; but as they indicate the highest merit in the persons who acquire them.

What a glorious thing is it for a young man, a stranger, unknown, unsupported, to carry off the highest prize, in the highest class of that noble branch of the arts and sciences, from the representatives of the whole world assembled to dispute it with him! and that in Rome too, where all the arts, and architecture in particular flourish in the greatest perfection!—Such a recent instance of merit rewarded, must engage youth to exert themselves, and infuse into them a noble ardour to excell, as they see, that merit alone, unsifted, frequently gains the ascendant over interest, prejudice, and envy."

It is to be observed to the honour of Mr *Mylne*, and the person who gained the 2d prize, that he was the first to own the equity of the decision, and to congratulate Mr *Mylne* on the justice that was done him. It is also remarkable that the predecessors of this gentleman, have been Master Masons to the Kings of Scotland by patent since the reign of James III.

The candid Reader will be pleased to indulge my inserting a fine congratulatory poem inscribed to Mr *Mylne* by his friend G. W. dated at Rome, September 23d, only five days after he gained the first prize in the highest class, from the 21st volume of the *Scott Magazine* for January.

Accept dear *Mylne*, nor like a critic view,
The verse to merit and to friendship due;
For were I equal to the pleasing theme,
Thro' distant realms the Muse should wing your fame;
Nay, the whole world your praises should resound,
Loud as Rome's capitol wherewas crown'd.

There

There nations saw your drawings with amaze,
 And jarring tongues united in your praise.
 Contending artists own'd these praises true,
 And were content to be surpass'd by you:
 On the smooth sheet I see with wondering eyes,
 The shadowy fabric in proportion rise;
 See the ambitious columns soar on high,
 And the bold arches from those columns fly;
 View all the modest ornaments around,-
 View the high pile with breathing sculpture crown'd,
 Admire how the proportion'd parts combine,
 To raise the beauty of the whole design;
 And how the whole by your unbounded art,
 Reflects a lustre on each single part;
 Such was the taste of antient Greece and Rome,
 Such will be Britain's when she calls you home.
 And lo! Britannia stretches forth her hand,
 Recalls her son to grace her native land;
 To free her people from that trifling taste,
 By which the nation has been long disgrac'd;
 That trifling taste fit only to engage,
 The dullest mortal of the darkest age;
 To drive the gothick genius from her shore,
 And modest nature to her realms restore;
 Shew the Chinese in its true monstrous shape,
 As like a beauty as to man an ape.
 Such *Mylne* must be your task before you can
 E'er hope to build upon a better plan.
 To cure the nations taste be first your care;
 Then Britain will for long lost arts declare.
 Will raise the structures by your hand design'd,
 Will rival Rome, leave Rome perhaps behind;
 Will do you justice and inroll your name,
 First in the book of ever-living fame.

the following year the celebrated academy of St Luke, unani-
 ly received Mr *Mylne* a member of their body, as a further re-
 of his superior merit; on this occasion the young Prince Altieri
 distinguished for his great knowledge in the fine arts, obtained from
 Pope the necessary dispensation; Mr *Mylne* being a Pro-
 nt.
 After his return to his native country, his plan of Black-Friars
 at London was approved and accepted; and that ele-
 bridge was built by his direction.

The

The MUSES THRENODIE.

The SIXTH MUSE.

AS we arrived at our *Lady's steps*,
 Incontinent all men revert their capes,
 Bidding us welcome home, and joining hand,
 They ask from whence we came, and from what land?
 Said we, some curious, catching everie winde
 Do run through sea and land to either *Inde*,
 And compassing the glöb, in circuit role,
 Some new found lands to search beneath each pole;
 Or *Memphis* wonders, or the *Pharian* tower,
 Or walls which shew the *Babylonian* power;
 Or hung in th'air the *Mausolean* frame,
 Or statlie temple of the *Trivian* dame,
 The *Rhodian Colossus*, and the grove,
 Where stood the statue of *Olympian Jove*,
 With endlesse toile and labour passe to see,
 Or if in all this world more wonders be,
 They search the same, and so they stoutlie boast,
 Yet both themselves and paines are oft-times lost:
 For going men, if they return perhaps,
 Strange change, in swine transform'd are their shapes:

it some, though rare, who go from hence,
 turne, like him of *Ithaca* was Prince:
 we, more safely passing all alongs,
 not bewitched with such *Syren* songs.
 little much, well travel'd in short ground,
 search what wonders in the world are found;
 reading these mountains, and these pleasant valleyes,
 than fields had never braver alleyes
 when we imagine, and for wonders rare,
 more than the *Carian tombe* which hings in air
 we conceive. Of travels let them talk,
 in the works of learned men do walk
 and painfully their learned paths do tread,
 sure he's travel'd far who is well read;
 who so views my *Cabinets* rich store,
 travel'd through the world. and some part more,
 this suffice, we travell to content us,
 of our travels think ne'er to repent us;
 in our *Muses* we do travell more,
 than they that coast and sound the *Indian* shore.
 think not so, brave travels we condemne,
 with safe conscience we may use the same;
 do we speak voide of experience,
 both of us have travel'd been in *France*,
 and *France* for all, and if that will not ease you,
 think then all this world will never please you *.

Then

The intelligent Reader will observe from the above strictures
 travelling, that Mr Adamson had studied mankind as well
 books. It will scarcely admit of a question, that the num-
 ber

Then went we home to get some recreation,
 But by and by befell a new temptation:
 Our neighbour archers our good sport envying,
 A challenge to us sent, our patience trying.
 And did provoke us, if we shot for gold,
 Or honours praise, betimes, to morrow would:
 Or for our Mistress if we had a minde;
 Doubtlesse, said *Gall*, thereto we are inclinde:
 But for the present we have ta'en in hand
 To view our fields by river and by land:
 Boast not therefore, for nothing will disheart us,
 Nor from our present progresse will divert us.

ber of those who have made useful improvements by travelling into foreign countries, is exceeding small. There is nothing more absurd in persons of quality and fortune, than to ride post thro' diverse kingdoms and states, and to return home ignorant of their own country, after having mispent immense time by dissipation and debauchery. Can any gentleman possessed of an opulent fortune, having finished his juvenile studies, be better employed, than in making the tour of this happy island to study the natural history of the country, and make himself acquainted with men and their various dispositions and manners.

Our union with France during many centuries, disaffected to England. We travelled into France, and imported the manners and disaffection to our natural friends; but now providence and good sense has got the better of our ill grounded prejudices. To censure therefore and attack a whole body of people, on account of the prejudices and errors of a contemptible few, is neither liberal nor candid; to rekindle an almost expiring flame, to sow discord among friends, to revive national animosities, is a task proper for the flowing quence and poisoned pens of desperate incendiaries: but we hope that it shall never be in their power to bring us again to worse than Egyptian bondage. We are blessed with a good King; a happy constitution of government, peace in our borders, and liberty to eat our loaf and enjoy our friends.

of our journey having made an end,
 our lives in such brave quarrell will we spend,
 This answer when they heard, they did compeer
 with ardent hearts some further newes to speer,
 and what brave sport we found, what pastime rare?
 forthwith in loftie verse *Gall* to declare,
 began, his breast when *Phæbus* once did warme,
 their ears and hearts, his heavenly voice did charme,
 and I to keep a consort with full voice,
 fell by turn, did make them all reioice
 with sweetest rimes; for both of us inclinde,
 even as *Democritus* did truly minde.
 Poets all, when once that sacred fire,
 with divine furie did our breasts inspire,
 and thus with heavenlie rapture, as transported
 at whole dayes journey *Gall* to them reported,
Hesperus appeared, and in despiight
 the heavens which hearkened, forc'd to bid good night.
 which when I call to minde, it makes me cry
 O, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die.
 The night was short, *Phæbus* did touch the line
 where crueld *Cancer* makes him to decline,
 sleep could close mine eyes, but wake must I,
 fair *Aurora* did inlight the sky.
 when up I got, and where good *Gall* did ly,
 his mightie voice and chanting did I cry,
 O. I. T Good

et excludit sanos Helicone Poetas
Democritus. Horat. de arte poetica. l. 296.

Good Master *Gall*, arise, you sleep too long
 With *Hey the day now dawnes*, so was my song *
The day now dawnes, Arise, good Master *Gall*,
 Who answering said, *Manſier*, I heare you call :
 And up we got. Then to our bearge we go,
 To answer us our boatmen wondrous flow,
 When we did call, thrise lifting up his head,
 Thrise to the ground did fall againe as dead,
 But him to raise, I sung *Hey the day dawnes*;
 The drowſie fellow wak'ning, gaunts, and yawnes;
 But getting up at laſt, and with a blow
 Raiſing his fellow, bad him quickly row.
 Then merrielie we leanche into the deep,
Phœbus meane-while awak'ned roſe from ſleep,
 At his appointed houre, the pleaſant morning
 With gilded beames the criſtall ſtreames adorning :
 The pearled dew on tender graſſe did hing,
 And heavenly quires of birds did ſweetlie ſing :
 Down by the ſweet ſouth inche we ſliding go,
 Ten thouſand dangling diamonds did ſhow
 The radiant repercuſſion of *Sols* rayes
 And ſpreading flowres did looke like *Argus* eyes †.
 Then did we talk of citie toiles and cares,
 Thrice happie counting him ſhuns theſe affaires,

* A celebrated old Scotch ſong.

† The ſcene is truly pictureſque, as it is laid at the ſummer ſolſtice : Any perſon of taſte will ſee all the beauties deſcribed by the poet, in ſailing down the river by the edge of the South Inch when the tide turns in a ſummer morning. We could almoſt imagine that we were in the boat with Mr. Ruthven and his friend

And with us have delight these fields to haunt
 Some pastorall or sonnet sweet to chant.
 And view from far th' ambitious of this age,
 Turning the helmes of states, and in their rage
 Make shipwrecke of the same on shelves and sands,
 Running by lawlesse laws and hard commands,
 And often drown themselves in floods of woes,
 As many shipwrecks of this kinde well shewes.
 We passe our time upon the forked mountain,
 And drink the cristall waters of the fountain.
 Guid'd by the winged horse; we sing the trees
 The cornes, and flocks, and labours of the bees;
 Of shepherd lads, and lasses homelie love,
 And some time straine our oaten pipe above
 That mean: we sing of *Hero* and *Leander*,
 Of *Mars*, all cled in steel; and *Alexander*.
 At *Cynthus* us pulling by the ear
 And warning give, to keep a lower air;
 Not keep what air we will, who can well say
 That he himself preserve from shipwrecke may?
 In stormie seas, while as the ship doth reele
 In publick state, the meanest boy may feele
 Shipwreck, as well as he the helme who guides,
 When seas do rage with winds and contrare tides.
 Which ah, too true I found, upon an ore
 Long ago, while as I swim'd to shore,
 I tennesse my drench'd cloaths, as you did see,
 Which I to *Neptune* gave in votarie

And signe of safetie. Answered Master Gall,
Monfieur, your table hung on *Neptune's* wall,
 Did all your losse so livelie point to me,
 That I did mourne, poore soule, when I did see.
 But you may know in stormes, thus goeth the matter,
 No fish doth sip in troubled seas clean water.
 Courage therefore, that cloud is overgone,
 Therefore as we were wont, let us sing on *.
 For in this morning founded in mine ear
 The sweetest musick ever I did hear
 In all my life, good Master Gall, quod I
 You to awake, I sung so merriellie.
Monfieur, quoth he, I pray thee ease my spleane,
 And let me heare that Musick once againe.
 With *Hey the day now dawnes*, then up I got,
 And did advance my voice to *Ela's* note,
 I did so sweetlie flat and sharply sing,
 While I made all the rocks with echoes ring.

* The above twelve lines glance at the murder of Gowry
 his brother, in their own house at Perth on the 5th August 1582.
 Mr Ruthven was a relation of the two unfortunate brothers,
 narrowly escaped being swallowed up in the catastrophe. The
 circumstances of the time required the utmost caution in the poet;
 he touched that delicate string; it was dangerous at that time
 to speak a language different from the Court. The most upright
 in the kingdom who used more freedom, suffered for their temerity.
 The well-known Mr Robert Bruce, minister at Edinburgh, was
 punished on that account.

Mean while our boat, by *Frederick's* hole doth slide *,
 our course not stopped with the flowing tide,
 we need not card, nor crostaffe for our pole,
 from thence landing clam the *Dragon hole* †,
 with crampets on our feet, and clubs in hand,

here its recorded *Jamie Keddie* fand
stone enchanted, like to *Cygné* ring,
which made him disappear, a wondrous thing,
it had been his hap to have retain'd it,
loving it, againe could never finde it;

thin this cove oft-times did we repose
being freed from the citie woes.

From thence we, passing by the windy gowle
make the hollow rocks with echoes yowle:

And

It is about five fathom deep, immediately below the Friar-farm-house, where merchant-ships of any burden ride safely. The river makes a curve at that place, and is cutting away the bank, which, in a few years, will endanger the farm-house.

It is a cave in a steep rock on the face of Kinnoul-hill of very
cult and dangerous access, it will contain about a dozen of men.
but resolute people dare venture into it. On the first day of
during the Æra of Popery, a great concourse of people as-
sembled at that place, to celebrate superstitious games, now unknown
which the Reformers prohibited under heavy censures and se-
penalties, of which we are informed from the ancient records
the Kirk-session of Perth.

The windy Gowle, as it is so named at this day, is a steep and low descent betwixt two tops of Kinnoul-hill. When the wind is strong from the north, it blows fiercely down this opening. In certain positions near to this place, a repetition of an Echo, nine times, can be heard.

And all along the mountains of *Kinnoul*,
Where did we shoot at many foxe and fowle.*

* Hawks, kites, ravens, and hooded crows, build their nests in the inaccessible places of the rocks. The face of the hill pointing to the river is all ragged rock. Huge stones sometimes tumble down with great velocity; a few years ago one of them broke through the back-wall of a farm-house and killed a woman within the house at a considerable distance from the bottom of the hill.

Great numbers of pebbles have been found among the rocks. The winter-frost and succeeding rain bring down many fine agates, onyx, and a few Cornelians; some of them when polished have the resemblance of fortifications. A very extraordinary agate I saw dug out in 1746, for which a lapidary and seal-cutter offered ten guineas when it was polished; it represented an old man's head with Roman nose, two small eyes, and a grizzled beard. I had in my custody another, which represented the lively effigies of a soldier which was presented to an officer of the army. The face of the hill is part of the estate of *Kinsawns*, now the property of Lord Gray; the back part towards the north belongs to the Earl of *Kinnoul* and Doctor *Threipland* of *Barnhill*, which was anciently a forest of oak-timber, which produced the great beams in *St. John's kirk* above four hundred years ago. It has been for many years no better than a barren common; but the industry and improvements of Lord Gray towards the east, of the Earl of *Kinnoul* in the middle, and of Doctor *Threipland* towards the western part, will soon change this dreary desert into a beautiful plantation of fir, oak, and other useful trees, and good arable land on the skirts. The planting on Doctor *Threipland's* part of the hill is in good heart and forwardness, and is a considerable ornament, not only to the estate but also to the town of *Perth*, from whence it is seen from the opposite side of the river which separates it from the *South Inch*. On the declivity of the hill towards the west, is a farm-house called *Wood end* belonging to *Barnhill* estate, at a small distance from the side of the river next to *Perth*, is a rising ground where the castle of *Kinnoul* stood, the rubbish of the old house is yet to be seen. Our elegant historian *Hector Boethius* is the only person who takes notice of the interview between our first *James* and *Kinnoul*.

nsule, so famous in the dayes of old
 ere stood a castle and a stately hold
 great antiquity, by brink of *Tay*,
 ods were above, beneath fair meadows lay;
 prospect proper *Perth* with all her graces,
 plantings, spacious greens, religious places,
 ough now defac'd through age, and rage of men,
 thin this place a Ladie did remaine
 great experience, who likewise knew
 sprite of prophetic, what should ensue:
 o saw wight *Wallace*, and brave *Bruce* on live,
 d both their manhoods lively did describe
 o that noble Prince, first of that name,
 orthie King *James*, who hearing of her fame,
 ent to her house these histories to learn
 en as for age her eyes could scarce discern.

This Ladie did foretell of many things

Brittain's union under *Scottish* Kings,

after ending of our civill feeds,

speares in syths; our swords should turn in speads,

In

The story is not altogether improbable. The King was inquisi-
 the Lady was above a hundred years old, and had seen five
 the King's predecessors, besides *Wallace* the governor. *Boece* in-
 us, that, after a polite reception of the King by the Lady
 had lost her sight by old age, she was seated next to his Ma-
 y, and gave him the history of *Wallace* and *Robert Bruce*, and
 him that she had seen them both, who were not only hand-
 s, but very strong, and that *Wallace* exceeded *Robert Bruce*
 fortitude. The King departed to *Perth* well pleased with the
 entertainment given him by the Lady.

In signe whereof there should arise a Knight,
 Sprung of the bloodie yoke, who should of right *
 Possesse these lands, which he then held in fee;
 Who for his worth and matchlesse loyalty
 Unto his Prince, should greatly be renown'd
 And of these lands instyl'd, and Earle be crown'd
 Whose son in spight of *Tay*, should joine these lands
 Firmely by stone on either side which stands.

Thence to the top of *Law-Tay* did we hie †,
 From whence the countrie round about we spy,
 And from the airie mountaine looking down,
 Beheld the stance and figure of our town,
 Quadrat with longer sides, from east to west,
 Whose streets, wals, fowles in our eyes did cast

* Many attempts were made at different periods, to get a bridge built, but they were all unsuccessful, until one hundred and thirty years after the publication of this poem, a Knight sprung from the bloody yoke. Every body knows that the present Earl of Kinnoul was the soul of this arduous undertaking, otherwise it had never succeeded. Mr Smeaton, one of the ablest architects in Britain, who was recommended by his Lordship, drew the plan of the bridge, which has been built by his direction and under his eye. The foundation-stone was laid by Lord Kinnoul in 1766, and the bridge was happily finished 1771. Although simple and unadorned, it is acknowledged by artists who have tentively examined it, to be one of the most strong and magnificent bridges in Britain.

† Messrs. Ruthven and Gall take their station on the west summit of the hill of Kinnoul, called *Law Tay*, where they had a fine view of Perth, and the river with the adjacent country: the town is an oblong square, and was anciently fortified with very fine walls, some parts of them are yet to be seen. The convents and their churches and steeples were all without the walls.

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Keith

A prettie shew : Then gan I to declare
 Where our old *Monasteries*, with churches fair
 Sometime did stand, placed at everie corner
 Was one, which with great beautie did adorne her,
 The *Charter-house* toward the southwest stood *,
 And at south-east the *Friers*, who weare gray-hood.
 Toward the north the *Blackfriars* church did stand ;
 And *Carmelites* upon the westerne hand † ;

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U

With

* The Carthusian Monastery, described p. 35, stood without the Southgate port on the south side of the street where the hospital now stands. Provost James Cree laid the foundation-stone of this elegant building, which was finished in 1750. Incredible numbers of oyster shells were dug out of the foundations. The holy Monks abstained from flesh in the time of Lent, and indulged their appetites with this luxurious and nutritious shell-fish, for reasons best known to themselves. The relicts of this delicious morsel are to be seen among the rubbish of all the religious houses *. The Grayfriars or Observantines were invited over by King James I. Their convent stood without the Spey-gate or South-port on the right-hand, which is now the public burying-place, it was founded by Lord Oliphant in the year 1466, Buchanan says, it was destroyed the 11th May 1559. Knox informs us, that the convent was very well provided, their sheets, blankets, beds and coverings, were such as no Earl in Scotland had better. Their napery was fine. There were but eight persons in the convent, yet they had eight puncheons of salt beef, wine, beer, and ale, besides store of other victuals. Within two days, so busy were the mob in destroying idolatry, that the walls of this edifice only remained.

† The Monastery of the Carmelites or white Friars so called, because they wore a white gown, stood on the land of *Tullium* on the south side of the long caseway leading to *Huntingtower*. It is now called *Dovecoat-land*, it was converted into a garden by Robert Comb above thirty years ago; several images and statues were dug out of the rubbish by Comb when he leveled the garden, some of these carved stones are to be seen at this place. Thomas

Lauder

Keith's account of religious houses.

With many chappels standing heere and there
 And steeples fairly mounted in the air,
 Our *Ladie's Church* *, *Saint Catharine's* †, and *Saint Paul's* ‡,
 Where many a Messe was sung for defunct souls.
 The chappell of the rood §, and sweet *Saint Anne* §§,
 And *Loret's* chappell, from *Rome's Vaticane*.*

Transport

Lauder bishop of Dunkeld, who was preceptor to James II who built the bridge over Tay next to his palace, founded at the convent, a daily Mass for the dead in 1482. he purchased for himself and successors a large house in Perth. He transferred the nodes of his diocese, which were accustomed to be held at this Convent to his Cathedral at Dunkeld. George Brown, who was bishop in 1484, finding the church of this Convent much decayed, built the west part of it from the ground, and the west side of the monastery to which he added two galleries of hewn stone.

* The east-wall of the prison, on the north side of the old bridge is part of the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

† St. Katharine's Church stood without the high-gate port, on the north-side of the street, near to the Bow-buts called *Playhouse*. The ground is called *St. Katharine's lands*, and now belongs to the Earl of Kinnoul.

‡ St. Paul's Church stood at the north west-end of the New road § Holy rood, or the chapel of the cross, stood at the south end of the port on the north side.

§ St. Anne's chapel stood on the south-side of St. John's Church in the garden belonging to Mr Austin of Kilspindie between the school and Salt Vennals, when the garden was lately leveled, several carved stones and niches in the old wall were removed, and no vestige now appears of the chapel.

** The chapel of *Loretto* stood on the north side of the foot street about Midway between the Port and Meal Vennal, where are now gardens, and a house lately built belonging to Alexander Leitch of Tarlappie.

It was very wisely judged by the *Romish* clergy to have a chapel of *Loretto* at Perth. *Loretto* in the Marquisate of Ancona in ecclesiastical state, is one of the richest cities in Europe, containing about 1000 souls, where the original *Santa casa*, or holy house in which the Virgin Mary dwelt now stands, which was miraculously

transported

Keith

transported hither, for a time took sailing,
 (you know the cloister Monkes write nev'r a leasing.)
 for what offence I know not, or disdain,
 that that same chappell borne hence is againe,
 for it appeares no more, look who so list,
 else I'm sure its covered with a mist.

Saint Leonard's cloister, mourning *Magdalene*,
 whose cristall fountaine flowes like *Hippocrene*.

U 2

Saint

transported from Galilee A. D. 1291, by angels over the Adriatic
 sea. A very grand temple is built over this holy habitation which
 is but mean and built with unsizeable bricks. The church is
 the richest in the world by donations from Emperors, Kings,
 Queens, Popes, Princes, holy Ladies and gentlemen. Here are
 to be seen all kinds of gold vessels; silver, as in Solomon's days
 of no account at Loretto, the finest diamonds and other precious
 stones, the finest tapestries and rich garments for adorning the hum-
 ble Virgin are treasured up. Vast caravans of pilgrims from all the
 catholic dominions flock annually to this holy place to offer up their
 prayers, and to be cured of all manner of diseases, and they go
 there empty handed. For these reasons, it was wisely judged
 to have a chapel of Loretto, miraculously transported to Perth, which
 had many votaries and good customers.

St. Leonard's, on the east and west sides of the long causeway
 leading to the bridge of Earn, stood about a quarter of a mile south-
 west from Perth, a farm-house which goes by the old name, stands
 on the spot opposite to it on the east is a rising ground where the
 chapel stood. The lands now belong to the glover-corporation.
 Wynne makes mention of *la Priouresse de Saint Leonard, juste
 ville de Saint Jahan de Perth*. The Priorese is made mention
 of in an. 1373. in the chartulary of Aberbrothock. It was sup-
 pressed by K. James I. and annexed to the charter-house of Perth
 which he founded, together with the *Magdalene's lands*. This nun-
 ery of St. Magdalene is about a computed mile south from Perth,
 where there is a most excellent spring of living water, one of the
 best in this country. The lands are now the property of David
 Moncrief of Moredun Esq; a branch of the house of Moncrief.

Keith's account of religious houses.

Saint *John's* fair church, as yet in mids did stand
 A braver sight was not in all this land
 Than was that town, when thus it stood decord
 As not a few, yet living, can record.
 And to be short, for this we may not tarle on
 Of that old town, this nought is but the carion.
Monfier, said *Gall*, that for a truth I know,
 These kirks and cloisters made a goodly show;
 But this as truly I dar well alleadge,
 These kirkmen usde the greatest counsage
 That ev'r was seene or heard. Good *Gall*, quoth I,
 How can that be? *Monfier*, if you will try,
 Too much true shall you finde. Pray thee, good *Gall*,
 Your speach to me seemes paradoxical;
 Therefore I would it know; *Monfier*, quoth he,
 And shall I show what such idolatrie
 Hath brought upon that town? The many cloisters
 Where fed there was so many idle fosters,
 Monks, Priests, and Friers, and multitude of patrons*,
 Erected in their queires; th' old wives and matrons
 Gave great head to these things, which they did say,
 And made their horned husbands to obey;

* Every church and chapel had a patron. Superstitious people
 built and endowed them, their heirs were appointed patrons, who
 had the privilege of presenting priests and chaplains who were to
 pray for the souls of the deceased. The patrons reserved part of
 the revenues for upholding the fabrics. The *Dundeets*, a considerable
 and opulent family in Perth were patrons of Saint Anne's
 Chapel.

and mortifie so much unto this Saint,
 and unto that, though they themselves should want;
 and, twentie Saints about one tenement,
 and one of them to have an yeerlie rent,
 and all to pray for one poore wretched soul,
 which Purgatorie fire so fierce should thole.

these annuities, yeerlie taxations,
 the causes of these wofull desolations

which we behold. The ground of all these evils,
 that to these Saints they gave, was given to divels.

and made them Saints, men set them in God's stead,
 and to them God's honour; to them idols made:

as satan served is; what men allow
 idols in his name; to him they do:

and now these friers destroyers may be scene,
 and of that cities wrake the cause have been:

none dare buy the smallest piece of ground,
 many annual rents thereon are found,

and if he build thereon, doubtlesse he shall
 and in long suits of law his moyen all.

some good salve cure not this sore, I fear
 shall be said some time, a town was there!

Good Gall, said I, some melancholious fit
 affects your joviall sprite, and pregnat wit,

would some Venus-heir might cure your sadnesse;
 sell your sorrowes and repleage your gladnesse;

Therefore

Therefore I'll quicklie go a herbarising
To cure that melancholik mood by saising *

Herewith we turn our pace, and down againe
Passe by the *Winnie gowls*, unto the plaine;
And herbarising there a prettie while,
Gall's lustie face blithly began to smile;
Guesse then how blith was I, if I had found
(I would not been so blith) a thousand pound,
Thus recreat, to boat againe we go,
And down the river smoothly do we row,
Neerby *Kinfauns*, which famous *Longueuil* †
Sometime did hold; whose auncient sword of steele
Remaines unto this day, and of that land
Is chieftest evident; on th' other hand

* There are several officinal herbs to be found on the face of Kinnoul hill, among which are Agrimony, bear-bowd, lady's-smeed, and spleen-wort in the clefts of the rocks. On the top of the hill, lesser-centaury, mountain-flax, wild thyme, &c. these are to be found on Moredun-hill, on the opposite side of the river, there are also many plants of dwarf elder and mercury.

† *Kinfauns* is a strong castle, about two measured miles east of Perth near to the river. It was the residence of *Thomas a Longueville* who came from France with Wallace, (p. 69.) His proper name was *Thomas Charters* whose descendants were long time lords of Perth.

Longueville's large two handed sword is preserved, and to be seen in the house of *Kinfauns*. The *Blairs* possessed this estate for many years. Lord Gray married the heiress, and *Kinfauns* is now the summer-residence of that noble family. The best salmon-fishing on the river *Tay* belong to the estate of *Kinfauns*.

and *Elcho* park, where *Wallace* haunted,
 re refuge, when *Englishmen* he daunted;
Elcho nunrie, where the holy sisters
 all'd were by the *Fratres* in their misters †.
Sleeplesse Isle we row; which our good Kings †
 e to our town with many better things,
 re there was in that neere neighbouring station,
 Prier or Nun to set there their foundation.

On

Elcho is a large and strong castle on the south side of the river,
 a mile below *Kinfauns*, it belongs to the honourable Mr *Char-*
of Amisfield, second son of the late Earl of *Weems*, and gives
 title of Lord to the eldest son of that family.

The nunnery of *Elcho* was founded by *David Lindsay* of *Glenesk*
 his mother; from this family the Earls of *Crawford* are descend-
Madoch, Earl of *Strathern*, gave the lands of *Kinnaird* in
 to the Nunnery which were afterwards sewed out to *Alexander*
 e by *Magdalene Priorefs* of this place *.

When *Wallace* returned from *France*, he landed above the mouth
 and ordered a ship to be sunk in the narrow passage, to pre-
 the English ships from sailing up the river, and with about
 y men he came to *Elcho* park, among them was *Thomas a*
ueville. The English governor at *Perth* received intelligence of
 arrival, and ordered *Buster* with a strong party to surprize them.
 ace slew him, and cut his way through his troops, and marched
sethven, from thence to *Birnam* wood where he met with his
 d *William Ruthven* Sheriff of *Perth*, who was banished by the
 sh; he proceeded with his small company to the highlands,
 he collected an army, returned and besieged *Perth* and oblig-
 e English governor to surrender it up †.
Sleeplesse Island, opposite to *Kinfauns*, belongs to that estate,
 he town of *Perth* have the privilege of a Salmon fishing on it.

* Keith's account of religious houses.

Blair's life of Wallace translated into Scotch Metre by blind

• Sir James Ballant's account of *Elcho*.

On th' other side we lookt unto *Balthyock* *
 Where many peacock cals upon his mayok.
Megeance † fair place, and *Errols* pleasant seat,
 With many more, which long were to relate.

Right

* *Balthayock* stands on an eminence about a mile north-east from *Kinfawns*. By what remains of the old castle it appears to have been very strong. We have only a peep of it, sailing up or down the river. The estate belongs to an antient family of the *Blair's*. Below the house is a den now planted by Mr Blair, in the bottom are found excellent agats, and on the sides grow many excellent herbs. Here is the best amusement for botanists in the summer season, many rare plants are found in this den.

† *Meginch* is a delightful seat in the middle of the *Carse* of *Gowry*. The estate belonged to a branch of the *Hays* of *Errol*, and is now the property of Captain Drummond, a descendant of the house of *Perth*. It is said with good reason, that the channel of *Tay* was anciently on the north of the *Carse*, and *Earn* on the south, and that the ground between them was a peninsula, several places in the *Carse* lead us to this way of judging. *Megs-Inch*, *Inch-Martin*, *Inchture*, *Inch-Michael*. &c. It is said that the Charters of *Meg-Inch*, make *Tay* the northern boundary of the Estate. Above 500 years ago *Earn*-side wood was extended four miles along the bank of this river, and was three miles in breadth *. The remains of that forest is on the bank of *Tay* between *Newburgh* and *Bambriech* Castle, *Earn* now falls into *Tay* above three miles west from *Earnside-wood*. *John Blair*, Wallaces faithful friend and Chaplain, informs us that, in A. D. 1297, Sir John Psewart Governor of *Compar* under Edward I. having got intelligence that Wallace was lurking in this wood, marched against him with eight hundred men, many of whom Wallace slew in several skirmishes, but being reinforced with 300 men from *Perth*, commanded by Sir Ronald Crawford the younger, and Sir William Ruthven, he ventured out into the plain and engaged the English army. After an obstinate dispute, he slew with his own hand Sir John Psewart, who had slain his faithful friend *John Bisset* chief of a powerful clan. The English forces dispirited by the fall of their commander, fled in the utmost disorder.

Wallace

* Sir James Balfour's account of *Fyfe*.

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Right over against is that wood *Barnside*,
 And fort where *Wallace* oftentimes did reside :
 While we beheld all these, the tide did flow,
 A lie the rudder goes ; about we row,
 Up to the town again we make our course,
 Sweetly convoy'd with *Tays* reflowing source.

There we beheld where *Wallace* ship was drown'd,
 Which he brought out of *France*, whose bottome found
 Was not long since, by Master *Dickeson's* art,
 That rare ingeniour, skil'd in everie part
 Of *Mathemathicks* ; quoth I, Master *Gall*,
 I marvell our records nothing at all
 Do mention *Wallace* going into *France*,
 How that can be forgote I greatlie scance,
 For well I know all *Gasconie* and *Guien*
 Do hold that *Wallace* was a mightie Gian,
 Even to this day ; in *Rochel* likewise found
 A Towre from *Wallace* name greatly renown'd :
 Yea *Longoveils* antiquities, which there
 We do behold, this truely do declare
 That *Wallace* was in *France* ; for after that
 The publick place of government he quar,
 Were full four yeeres and more, before he shed
 His dearest bloud, ah dearest truelie said :

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X

And

Wallace pursued, and took the castles of *Lindores* and *Cupar*. In
 this engagement he was greatly assisted by Sir *John Ramsay* and Sir
Thomas Longueville. The death of *Bisset* was much lamented by
 him and all the army.

And think you then that such a marshall heart
 Yeelding his place, would sojourn in this part,
 And lazily ly loytring in some hole?
 That any so should think I hardly thole;
 Therefore I grieve our men should have forgotten
 Themselves, and left so brave a point unwritten;
 Or should it contradict, there being so many
 Good reasons for this truth, as is for any *.

Monser, said he, that's not a thing to grieve at,
 For they did write his public life, not privat;
 For sure it is, after his publick charge
 Grief made him go to *France* his spirit to enlarge,
 His noble Spirite, that thraldome suffered never,
 For he to libertie aspired ever;
 And turning home, his ship causde sunken be,
 To stop the rivers passage, that from sea
 No *English* ship should come *Perth* to relieve,
 For any chance of war Fortune could give,
 But now this ship, which so long time before
 In waters lay, is fairlie haild a shoare;
 What cannot skill by Mathematick move?
 As would appeare things natures reach above.

* Wallace's retreat into France after he resigned the regency recorded by Fordun, *lib. ix.* and Major makes mention of it, from the authority of Fordun. Blind Harry from the authority of John Blair affirms it, although our latter historians are silent on this point.

Up by the Willow gate we make our way;
 With flowing waters pleasant then was Tay.
 The town appears; the great and strong Spey towre,
 And Monks towre, builded round: a wall of power,
 Extending 'twixt the two, thence goeth a snout
 Of great Iquair stones, which turns the streames about †,

X 2

Two

* Near to Perth, is an island which divides the river into two channels, the east channel is called the Willowgate, and is narrower than the other which is named the main water, or fair way, because ships of burden come this way, and small craft take the other channel as the shorter course, but it is now much disused except by small boats.

† From the Cloven Craig, a mile and half from the town, we have the first sight of Perth, as we travel from the south. The island between the two branches of the river, presents a striking resemblance of the map of great Britain. The town appears to great advantage by the side of the river immediately above the island, situated between two lawns planted around with double rows of trees, which afford an agreeable cool walk in the summer season.

The Spey tower is gone. It was a stately fortress and had a strong prison: the Rosses of Craigie were governors of the fortress; at the reformation Robert Ross of Craigie delivered up the keys under protestation. There remains nothing of it but a pitiful ruin where the bell house is. Monks tower yet stands, as described in the Poem, in the south-east corner of the garden on the wall: it serves for a Magazine of gun-powder for the train of artillery. The wall between this and the Spey tower, is the wall of the garden; and the castle without still remains. Lord Gowries stately palace stands within the wall, and fronts the Watergate-street. The Magistrates, who obtained the property after Gowries forfeiture, made a gift of the palace and garden to the Duke of Cumberland in 1746, with the freedom of the town. His Royal Highness converted it into Barracks for the train of Artillery, who have been stationed at Perth since the Rebellion in 1745. The Poet calls the Palace, *Perth's* *Withall*. We see nothing but the remains of its ancient grandeur. The Speygate and Watergate, near to Gowry's house were adorned with houses of the Nobility and gentlemen of fortune; the remains of some of them are to be seen with their coats of arms on the front. The town is now without towers, ports, or walls.

Two ports with double walls ; on either hand
 Are fowls deep, where gorged waters stand,
 And flow even as you list ; but over all
 The Palace kythes, may nam'd be *Perth's Whitball*.
 With orchards, like these of *Hesperides*
 But who shall shew the *Ephemerides*
 Of these things, which sometimes adorn'd that Citie ?
 That they should all be lost, it were great pitie.
 Whose antique monuments are a great deale more
 Than any inward riches, pomp or store ;
 And priviledges would you truely knowe
 Far more indeed, than I can truelie show ;
 Such were our Kings good wills, for to declare
 What pleasure and contentment they had there * :

But

* This anecdote looks so like a ridiculous falsehood and vain-glorious fable ; that it is no wonder if strangers laugh it to scorn who know that the King is the supreme Magistrate and fountain of all honour. But, however improbable it may appear, there is a foundation for what is recorded in the poem. In the *Gildrie-register* is to be seen A. D. 1601. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbis*, and under this motto, James R. all written with the King's own hand. Upon the next page of the register we see. *Nemo me impune lacessit*, July 24th 1650 Charles R. there are blank leaves both before and after these royal subscriptions. Charles II. was crowned at Scone the 1st of January thereafter. In the miscellaneous manuscript in my custody before mentioned, Mr Dundee who was on the spot writes thus : " *Item*, On the xv Apprill in anno a
 " thousand vi hundred ane yeir the Kingis Majestie came to Perth,
 " and that same day he was made provost with ane great scerlane *
 " of the courteours, and the bancait was meid at the crois, and
 " the Kingis Maiestie wes set downe thereat, and six dozint glasses
 " brokine, with mony owdir silver pissis and pewdir vscilles ; and
 " thair the King maid ane greit solleime aith to defend the hail li-
 " bertie of this brouche."

Me

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* See Ap

But of all priviledges this is the bravest,
 King James The sixth was Burges made and Provest *,
 And gave his *Burges* oath, and did inrole
 With his own hand within the *Burges* scrole
 And *Gildrie Bosh* his deare and worthie name,
 Which doth remaine to *Perth's* perpetuall fame,
 And that King's glorie, thus was his gracious pleasure
 Of his most loving heart to shew the treasure;
 Writing beneath his name these words most nervous,
Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos.
 That is, It is the Lyons great renown
 To spare the humble, and proublings pester down.
 Which extant with his own hand you may see:
 And, as inspir'd, thus did he prophesie,

What

Mr Dundee, a man of reputation in the town narrates this strange transaction as done at the Cross in sight of the whole town: if it had been a falsehood, both he and the poet had subjected themselves to public ridicule. The King and his courtiers could not have devised a more popular measure to pacify the people of Perth, who, on the fifth of August before, when their beloved Provost, a hopeful youth, was barbarously murdered in his own house in his Majesty's presence; were exasperated to such a degree, that the whole town was one tumult, from whom the King and his retinue narrowly escaped. The indignation of the people subsided; the King had retained the leading men, and a considerable party in the town in hopes of favour and preferment. The King condescended to be nominal Provost; and we see from the records, that the court-party for a long time after, had been chosen Magistrates.

There is no reason to believe that Gowry had either inclination or design to hurt the King; it is certain, that he was sober and religiously educated by good governors and preceptors. He was beloved by the Reformers whom the King hated. His father William the first Earl of Gowry, sixteen years before this young

* See Appendix, No. 2.

What will you say, if this shall come to hand,
Perth's Prouest *London's* Major shall command.
 Which words, when we did hear, we much admir'd,
 And everie one of us often nquir'd
 What these could mean? Some said, he meand such one,
 That *London*, yea, all *England* like had none.
 Some said, he mindes his dignitie and place;
 Others his gifts of nature, and of grace.
 All which were true indeed, yet none could say,
 He mean'd that *England's* scepter he should sway,
 Till that it came to passe some few yeeres after,
 Then hearts with joy, and mouths were fill'd with laughter:
 Happie *King James the sixth*, so may I say,
 For I a man most joviall was that day,

young nobleman's death, fell a sacrifice to the implacable malice and
 avarice of *James Stewart Earl of Arran*, a man of no principles
 dissolute and licentious, a declared enemy of the reformation, and
 who had the arts to engross the young King's ear and confidence.
 We have no reason to believe that the King had any design on
 Gowry's life and estate; but we cannot say so much for Arran and
 his accomplices the Papists. Gowry had made his submission to the
 King, and was pardoned for what was called the *Raid of Ruthven*
 when the King was kept in captivity by the confederate Lords; yet
 over the King's pardon, Arran got him impeached, tried and be-
 headed for treason. The King was in greater captivity while he
 was in the hands of Arran and the Popish Lords, and much more
 dishonourable to his person and government. The Earl of Angus
 and the other Protestant Lords were displeased with Gowry's sub-
 mission without terms; and the next year 1585 they returned from
 banishment, seized on the castle of *Stirling*, delivered the King out
 of the power of Arran, whom at last they divested of all his hon-
 ours and dignities, and reduced him to his original, a private gen-
 tleman, but they proceeded no further. Happy for the King and
 his successors, had he taken more of their counsel, and less of his
 Popish Lords!

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† See A

And had good reason, when I kist that hand,
Which afterwards all *Britaine* did command.

Monfieur, said *Gall*, I sweare you had good reason,

Most glad to be that day : for you of treason

Alloylied was, of your unhappie chief :

Pray thee, good *Gall*, quod I, move not my grief.

Said *Gall*, *Monfieur*, that point I will not touch,

They'l tine their coales that burnes you for a witch.

A witch, good *Gall*, quod I, I will be sworne,

Witchcraft's the thing that I could never learne* ;

Yea, Master *Gall*, I swear that I had rather

Ten thousand chiefs been kill'd, or had my father,

The King is *pater patria*, a chief

Of times is borne for all his kinnes mischief.

And more, I know was never heart, nor hand

Did prosper, which that King did ev'r withstand.

Therefore,

* The King and the Earl's enemies were at a great loss when they debased themselves to bring an accusation of forcery against him after he was dead, and Lord Cromarty is not ashamed gravely to tell that story, which all the world laughs at. Adamson sneers at the accusation, and poor Monsieur is in earnest to clear himself *. Gowry, who was honoured with the Professor's chair in the Academy of Padua, the most learned college in Europe ; had perhaps more learning than half the Lords in Scotland were possessed of. The King was credulous, and had as much learning as made him a sedant. He was as keen in hunting down witches as stags, and had plenty of dogs for both purposes. He has convinced the world that he was in earnest by his elaborate treatise against witches. This was the æra of burning poor ignorant and destitute old women for witchcraft ; the annals of our country are disgraced with those prosecutions and iniquitous sentences of discerning and learned judges.

† See Appendix, No. 1, Gowrie's conspiracy.

Therefore, good *Gall*, I pray thee let that passe,
That happie King knew well what man I was.

While we thus talk, our boat drawes nie the shoare,
Our fellowes all for joy begin to roare
When they us see, and lowdly thus gan call,
Welcome, good *Monfier*, welcome Master *Gall*;
Come, come a-land, and let us merrie be,
For as your boat most happilie we did see,
Incontinent we bargain'd to and fro,
Some said, It was your berge, and some said, No:
But we have gained the prise, and pledges all,
Therefore come, *Monfier*, come good Master *Gall*;
And let us merrie be, while these may last;
Till all be spent we think to take no rest.
And so it was, no sleep came in our head,
Till fair *Aurora* left *Tithonus* bed.
Above all things so was good *Gall's* desire,
Who of good companie could never tire,
Which, when I call to minde, it makes me cry,
Gall, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die?

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Vol. I.

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The MUSES THRENODIE.

The SEVENTH MUSE.

UP springs the sun, the day is cleer, and fair,
Ætesia, sweetlie breathing, coole the air;
 Then coming to my *Cabin* in a band,
 Each man of us a *Gabion* hints in hand *.
 Where me their *Serjeant-Major* they elected,
 At my command that day to be directed.
 What prettie Captaine's yone (so said some wenches)
 Ladies, quoth I, men are not mete by inches.
 The *Macedonian* Monarch was call'd great,
 Not from his bodies quantitie, but state
 And martial prowesse, good Ladies then to heart you,
 You shall well know that talenesse is no virtue.

VOL. I.



Y

Thus

* Messrs Ruthven and Gall are to make a new excursion to the south by land; they assemble with their retinue early in Mr Ruthven's closet, and are furnished for their journey with proper weapons from his arcanal, probably with bows and arrows, swords, and hunting-horns: The curiosities of all kinds with which this strange closet was stocked, he called by the name of *Gabions*, a quaint word peculiar to himself; therefore, every thing in his closet is a *Gabion*: We will be deceived if we seek for the meaning of it under the modern word *Gabion*

Thus merche we all alongs unto *Moncrieff* *,
 Where dwells that worthie Knight, the famous chief
 Of all that auncient name: And passing by
 Three trees sprung of one root we did espy:
 Which, when we did behold, said Master *Gall*.
Monfieur, behold these trees, so great and tall
 Sprung of one root, which all men brethren name,
 The symbole which true concord doth proclame.

O happie presage, where such trees do grow,
 These brethren three the threefold Gerion show,
 Invincible, remaining in one minde,
 Three hearts as in one body fast combinde,
Scilurus bundeil knit, doth whole abide,
 But easily is broke, when once unty'd †.
 So these three trees do symbolize most cleerly;
 The amitie of hearts and mindes, inteirly

Kythes

* *Moncrieff* stands about a half mile east from the bridge of Earn, and about four miles south from Perth. In this country are several families of the name of *Moncrieff*. Sir William *Moncrieff* of *Moncrieff* is the chief. It is reported, that when King James returned from Perth, the 5th of August 1600, he met with Sir Thomas *Moncrieff* near to the bridge of Earn, and told him of his miraculous escape from Gowrie's conspiracy; Sir Thomas having heard the King's account of it, replied, May it please your Majesty, it is a strange story indeed, *if it be true*.

† The story of *Scilurus* recorded by *Plutarch* has an excellent moral. He had eighty sons whom he assembled at his bed-side before his death, and called for a bundle of arrows, he desired them one after another to break the bundle, which, when none of them could do he untied, and broke them one after another, and gave them his last advice to cleave to one another, so they would be invincible. The poet reads the same lecture from the sight of the three brethren-trees, which grew from one root at *Moncrieff*, and stood long, and are remembered by the old people.

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Kythes in that happie race, and doth presage
 To it more happinesse in after age ;
 Love's sweetest knot, which three in one doth bring
 That budding gemme shall make more flourishing
 Fair brethren trees, and sith so is your name,
 Be still the badge of concord, and proclaime
 All health and wealth, unto that happie race,
 Where grace and vertue mutually embrace.

To *Moncrieff* easterne, then to *Wallace-town*
 To *Fingask* of *Dundas*, thence passing down
 Unto the *Rynd*, as martiall men, we faire,
 What life man's heart could wish more void of care * :
 Passing the river *Earn*, on th' other side,
 Dreilling our sojourns, vulgars were affraide.

Thence to the *Pights* great Metropolitan,
 Where stands a steeple, the like in all *Britaine*

Kythes

Y 2

Not

* Easter *Moncrieff* belonged to another branch of the *Moncrieffs*, stands a mile east from *Moncrieff-house*, it is now the property of Sir William *Moncrieff*. *Fingask*, two miles east from Easter *Moncrieff*, stands at the foot of the same range of hills, it belongs to the *McGills*, about a mile south from *Fingask*, are the two *Rhinds* east and wester, a mile distant from each other, pleasantly situated on the banks of *Earn*, Easter-*Rhind* belonged to a branch of the *Moncrieffs*, it was lately sold by Mr Scot *Moncrieff* to Mr Watson, a gentleman from Angus; Wester-*Rhind* is the property of Mr Keir, both these estates have a salmon fishing on *Earn*. *Kinmonth* lies in the neighbourhood of Wester-*Rhind*, and was lately purchased by Mr Patrick Kier a descendant of the *Kiers* of *Kinmonth*, the representative of that family is James Kier, Esq; of Wester-*Rhind*; Mr Kier, now of *Kinmonth*, by his mother, is a relation of Mr *Gall* celebrated in this poem. On the other side of *Earn* west from Easter-*Rhind*, is *Culfargie* washed by *Earn* and the rivulet *Farg*, a neat estate the property of Alexander *Moncrieff*, Esq; improvements on all these estates are making quick progress

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Not to be found againe, a work of wonder,
 So tall and round in frame, a juſt cylinder *
 Built by the *Pights* in honour of their King,
 That of the *Scots* none ſhould attempt ſuch thing,
 As over his bellie big to walk or ride,
 But this ſtrong hold ſhould make him to abide.
 Unleſſe on *Pegasus* that he would flee,
 Or on *Jove's* bird ſhould ſoare into the ſkye,
 As rode *Bellerophon* and *Ganymede* :
 But mounted ſo muſt ride no giddie head.

From thence we mercht directlie unto *Dron*,
 And from that ſtead paſt to the *Rocking ſtone* ;
 Accompanied with infantrie a band,
 Each of us had a hunting ſtaffe in hand,
 With whiſtles ſhrile, the fleeing fowles to charme,
 And fowlers nets upon our other arme :
 But as for me about my neck was borne,
 To ſound the chace a mightie hunting horne ;
 And as I blew with all my might and maine,
 The hollow rocks did anſwere make againe,
 Then everie man in this cleare compahie

* Our gentlemen paſs the river *Earn* at *Weſter-Rhind*, and proceed to *Abernethy*, the ancient metropolis of the *Picts*. The round ſteeple is a piece of fine workmanſhip; but Mr *Adamſon* had not ſeen the ſteeple at the cathedral of *Brechin*, which is alſo a cylinder, and a great deal higher than this at *Abernethy*, which is ſaid to be *Pictiſh* workmanſhip, as is alſo the enormous ſteeple of *Dundee*, which is a ſquare. A mile eaſt from *Abernethy*, *Carpow* ſtands on the left hand, the property of Mr *Paterson*, a little beyond the manſion-houſe ſtood the ancient caſtle of *Abernethy* which belongs

Who best should winde the horne began to try ;
 Among the rest a fellow in the rout
 Boldly began to boast, and brave it out,
 That he would wind the horne in such a wise,
 That easelie he would obtaine the prise,
 But to record what chance there followed after,
 Gladly I would, but grief forbiddeth laughter,
 For so it was the merrie man was mar'd,
 Both tongue and teeth, I wot, were tightly tar'd ;
 Then no more stay ; fellow, good night, quod we,
 Th' old proverb layes, that *Dirt partes companie*.

By this we were just at the *Rocking stone*,
 Amongst the world's great wonders, it is one *

Most

ed to the Lords Abernethy, a powerful family ; it is said, that lately out of the rubbish of the old house, were digged some leaden pipes which conveyed water to the house ; one of the predecessors of the Earls of Angus married the heiress of Abernethy, and by her got that lordship, which is now in the person of Mr Douglas of Douglas, who annually receives the feus of many neighbouring estates, as also of the town of Abernethy.

* Balvaïrd castle is about eight miles south-west from Perth among the Ochil-hills ; it belonged to the Murrays of Balvaïrd in the reign of Robert the 2d, and now to the Viscount of Stormont, a lineal descendant of that house. Near to Balvaïrd is the rocking stone, it is a very large rough granite very high of a conical figure ; the least touch with the finger sets it a-rocking, or in motion, but it cannot be moved by the greatest strength. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his history of Fife, gives the natural reason of this phenomenon. He says, there is a yolk in the middle of the under-surface of the upper stone, which moves in a cavity on the surface of the under stone, so it consisted of two stones, the one lying upon the other, which, by a common observer is not seen, therefore it affords matter of astonishment to many who have the curiosity to visit this obelisk. It is said, that, in 1651, some of Cromwell's soldiers, in order to find out the cause of its motion, broke the stone, which yet has a tremulous motion when touched.

Most rare: It is a *Phanix* in its kinde,
 The like in all the world yee shall not finde:
 A stone so neicely set upon its kernels,
 Not artificiall, but natural chernels,
 So huge, so great, that if you please to prove it,
 A hundred yoke of oxen will not move it,
 Yet touch it with your fingers smallest knocking,
 Incontinent it will fall to a rocking,
 And shake, and shiver; as if obedient,
 More by request, than by commandement.
 Then up I clame this rock, as I was wonted,
 And like *Ægeon* on whale's back I mounted,
 And with *Etites* ratling stone I knocked,
 And as it ratled, even so was I rocked.
 So fair a cradle, and rare was never seene;
 Oh, if my *Cabinet* could it containe!

Next at the bridge of *Earne* we made our station,
 And there we took some little recreation;
 Where in Heroicks *Gall* fell to declaring
 All circumstances of that dayes wayfaring,
 And there so merrielie we fung, and chanted,
 Happie were they our companie who haunted,
 Which when I call to minde it makes me cry,
Gall, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to die.

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The MUSES THRENODIE.

The EIGHT MUSE.

WHAT blooming banks sweet *Earne*, or fairest *Tay*,
 Or *Almond* doth embrace; these many a day
 We haunted; where our pleasant pastorals
 We sweetly sung, and merrie madrigals.
 Sometimes bold *Mars*, and sometimes *Venus* fair,
 And sometimes *Phæbus* love we did declare;
 Sometimes on pleasant plaines, sometimes on mountains,
 And sometimes sweetlie sung beside the fountains.
 But in these banks where flowes Saint *Conil's* well *,
 The which *Theſſalian* tempe doth excell:

Whose

* This well dedicated to St. Conwal, whose anniversary was celebrated on the eighteenth of May, is near to Ruthven castle or Huntingtower, it is a very large and fine spring; besides, serving the house of Huntingtower, it is sufficient to serve the town of Perth with pure wholesome water, if it were brought down by pipes. In the days of superstition this well was much resorted to. There are not in this country more pleasant walks and shodowy groves than these about Huntingtower. The late Duke of Atholl took great delight in the beautiful situation of this pleasant *villa*, and intended to have ornamented it according to the modern taste; but the Duchess Dowager his mother-in-law would not consent to any alterations during her life; it was the dowry-house left her by John the first Duke of Atholl.

Whose name and matchless fame for to declare,
 In this most dolefull ditty must I spare;
 Yet thus dar say, that in the world again,
 No place more meet for Muses to remain
 For shadowing walks where silver brooks do spring,
 And smelling arbors where birds sweetlie sing,
 In heavenly musick warbling like *Arion*,
 Like *Thracian*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, or *Amphion*;
 That *Helicon*, *Parnassus*, *Pindus* fair,
 To these most pleasant banks scarce can compare.
 These be the banks where all the Muses dwell,
 And haunt about that crySTALL brook and well,
 Into these banks chiefly did we repair,
 From sun-shine shadowed, and from blasting air:
 Where with the Muses we did sing our song,
 Sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for our wrong:
 For in those days none durst approach their table,
 But we to taste their dainties, this no fable.

From thence to *Methven* wood we took our way*,
 Soon be *Aurora* fair did kythe the day;
 And having rested there some little space,
 Again we did betake us to our chace:
 Raifing the *does* and *roes* forth of their dennis
 And watrie fowles out of the marshy fennes:

* *Methven-wood* is a large forest full of oak, hazle, birch, &c.
 which are cut at different periods, and bring a good sum of money.
 Many herbs grow in this wood; the lilies of the valley grow in
 great plenty; and very beautiful honey-suckles.

That if *Diana* had been in that place,
 Would thought in hunting we had stained her grace.
 To *Methven* castle where *Gall* did declare,
 How *Margaret Tudor* Queen sometimes dwelt there *,
 First daughter to King *Henrie* seventh who closes,
Tork, Lancaster, in one, *England's* two roses;
 A happie union after long debate,
 But union much more happie and more great,
 Given by that same Queen springs, and by her race,
 Whereby all Britaine joys long wished peace.
 Hence came *King James* his title to the crown
 Of England, by both parents of renown;
 Hence comes our happie peace, so be it ay
 That peace with truth in Britaine flourish may.
 Right over to *Forteviot* did we hy,
 And there the ruin'd castle did we spy

VOL. I.



Z

Of

* *Margaret* eldest sister of *Henry VIII.* was first married to
James IV. After his fatal death at *Floudon*, she married *Archibald*
Douglas the 2d Earl of *Angus* of that name, to whom she bore
Lady Margaret Douglas, mother of *Lord Darnly* who was father
 of *James VI.* The Queen remained in England at her brother's court
 about a year after *Lady Margaret's* birth, and then returned home.
 Having got intelligence that *Angus*, during her absence, had a daugh-
 ter by a daughter of *Lord Traquair*, who was afterwards married
 to *Patrick Lord Ruthven*, the Queen would not be reconciled to
Angus, and procured a divorce, contrary to the advice of her bro-
 ther *Henry.* She afterwards married *Henry Stewart*, son to *Lord*
Evandale, whom her son *James V* created *Lord Methven*, and
 made him General of the Ordinance; she died about the end of the
 year 1539, at *Methven-castle*, and was buried with great funeral
 pomp at the *Charter-house* Monastery in *Perth*, near the tomb of
James I and his Queen *Jane.* The King, accompanied by many of
 the Nobility, attended the funeral.

Of *Malcolm Kenmure*, whom *Macduff* then *Thane*
 Of *Fyffe* (so call'd) from *England* brought again *;
 And fiercely did pursue Tyrant *Macbeth*,
 Usurper of the crown, even to the death.
 Their castle's ruines when we did consider,
 We saw that wasting time makes all things wither.
 To *Dupline* then and shades of *Aberdagie*,
 From thence to *Mailer* and came home by *Cragie* †.

* The ruins of this palace remain at Forteviot, on the other side of Earn almost opposite to Dupline. Duncan I. and Macbeth were both the grandchildren of Malcolm the 2d by his two daughters *Beatrice* the mother of Duncan, and *Douada* the mother of Macbeth; Duncan succeeded to his grandfather A. D. 1034, and was traiterously slain by his cousin Macbeth in the 6th year of his reign, Macbeth succeeded and reigned 17 years. Our historians say that the first ten years of his reign adorned, and the last seven disgraced his government. Macduff Thane of Fife, a powerful nobleman, was disgusted by Macbeth's tyranny and cruelty, and went to London where Malcolm Keanmore the son of Duncan was a fugitive, he brought home the young Prince about A. D. 1057, raised an army, engaged and slew Macbeth at his castle on Dunfinnan-hill, about eight miles north-east from Perth, and set Malcolm III on the throne, who advanced this nobleman to great honours. Macduff's posterity were Thaness, afterwards Earls of Fife, for many generations. Malcolm generally kept his Court at Dunfermling; Forteviot might be one of his private palaces. His Queen Margaret daughter of Edward Ironside King of England, was long celebrated for her virtue, wisdom and piety. After a reign of 36 years he was slain with his son Prince Edward at the siege of Alnwick by Robert Mowbray, surnamed Percy, and was buried at Tinmouth but afterwards removed to Dunfermling.

† Our gentlemen pass the river Earn at Forteviot boat in their return home, and survey the beauties of Dupline and Aberdagie with their groves and cool-shades, in a line with Aberdagie-park at a little distance, is Mailer a pleasant situation on the bank of Earn, with orchards and forrest-trees; it is the property

Soon by that time before three days were done,

We went to see the monuments of *Scone* ;

As was our promise *Scone's* nymphs see we must,

For in such vows we were exceeding just :

And there with *Ovid*, thus did we declare,

Here is a green where stood a temple fair ;

Where was the fatal chair and marble stone

Having this motto rare incise thereon ;

This is the stone if fates do not deceive,

Where e're its found the *Scots* shall kingdom have,

Which *Longbank's* did transport to *Troynovant*,

As *Troy* took in the horse by *Gracia* sent.

So we who sprung were of the *Gracian* crue,

Like stratagem on *Trojans* did renew.

Oh ! if this fatal chair, transported were

To *Spaine*, that we like conquest might have there,

From thence to *Italie*, to *Rome*, to *Greece* ;

To *Colchos* thence to bring the golden fleece.

And in a word we wish this happie chair,

Unto the furthest *Indies* transported were :

That mightiest kingdoms might their presents bring.

And bow to *Charles* as to their soveraigne king.

Z 2

Nearby

of Lord Ruthven, in sight of his Lordship's house of Freeland, the residence of the family on the opposite side of the river. They return over the hill by Craigie, in the neighbourhood of Perth, the ancient residence of the Rosses, who afterwards purchased Inner-nethy near to Abernethy, and resided at that place. Mr John Rosse merchant in Perth is a descendant of those ancient Rosses. The other places mentioned in this eight Muse have been already described.

Nearby we view that famous earthen mount,
 Whereon our kings to crowned be were wont;
 And while we do consider there we found,
 Demonstrate was the quadrate of the round;
 Which *Euclid* could not find nor *Pater Erra*,
 By guesse we did it find on *Omnis Terra*;
 And if you geometers hereof do doubt,
 Come view the place and ye shall find it out;
 A demonstration so wondrous rare,
 In all the world I think none may compare:
 Thence need we must go see the mure of *Scone*,
 And view where *Pights* were utterly undone;
 By valiant *Scots* and brought to desolation,
 That since they never had the name of nation;
 Seven times that fight renew'd was in one day,
Pights seven times quell'd, *Scots* were victorious ay:
 Hence it is said when men shall be undone,
 We shall upon them bring the mure of *Scone*.
King Donskine with his remnant *Pights* near *Tay*
 All kill'd, did crown the victorie of that day;
 Then valiant *Kenneth* went to *Camelon**,
 And threw to earth *King Donskine's* antient throne,
 So greatest kingdomes to their periods tend,
 And every thing that growes must have an end;
 Where is that golden head that reign'd so long?
 The silver arms and bellie of brass most strong.

* Abernethy.

he iron legs divided now in toes,
 he mixt with clay and so the world it goes.
 Thus nations like to stars in multitude,
 like sand on shoar, or fishes in the flood :
 As trees, rooted in the earth so deep so long,
 on the mountains grow the cedars strong.
 At time hath overturn'd them, and their names
 are past as letters written on the streams ;
 To tell us here we have no constant biding,
 The world unto decay is always sliding ;
 The kingdome ever doth remaine, and all
 against it who rise to powder turn they shall.
 For this we did perceiue where proud *Macbeth*,
 who to the furies did his soul bequeath.
 His castle mounted on *Dunsinnan* hill,
 causing the mightiest Peers obey his will.
 And bow their necks to build his *Babylon*,
 thus *Nymrod*-like he did triumph upon
 that mountaine which doth overtop that plaine,
 And as the starrie heaven he should attaine
 A lofty tower, and *Atlas* caused build,
 When tirranizing rag'd as *Nimrod* wild ;
 Who had this strange response that none should catch him,
 That borne was of a woman, or should match him,
 Or any horse should overtake him there,
 Yet yet his sp'rit deceiv'd him by a mare,
 And by a man, was not of woman borne,
 The brave *Macduff* was from his mother shorne :

Macd. ff

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 And by a man, was not of woman borne,
 For brave *Macduff* was from his mother shorne :

Macd. ff

Macduff call'd *Thane* of *Fife*, who home did bring
King Malcolm Kennure was our native King.

Kenmore great head, a great head should be wise,

To bring to nought a *Nymrods* enterprife;

Up to *Dunfiann's* top then did we climb,

With panting heart, weak loyns and wearied limme:

And from the mountain height which was well windie,

We spy where *Wallace's* cave was at *Kilspindie*:

But there we might not stay thence to the plaine,

With swifter pace we do come down again.

Descent is easy any man can tell,

For men do easily descend to hell.

When we had view'd these fields both here and there,

As wearied pilgrims gan we home to fair;

Home, happie is that word, at home in heaven,

Where *Gall* now rests above the planets seven;

And I am left this wretched earth upon,

Thy losse with all my Gabions to bemoan.

Thence mourne with me my Gabions, and cry,

Gall, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to dye.

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The MUSES THRENODIE.

The NINTH MUSE.

WHAT could there more be done, let any say,
Nor I did to prevent the dolefull day * ?

For when I saw *Gall's* fatal constellation,

Would not permit him in this earthly station ?

Long to abide then did I give a tryal,

To make impartial fate sustain denial,

By herbarising while I proved my skill,

On top of *Law-Tay*, and stay *Moore-downe* hill :

Collecting vegetables in these parts,

By all the skill of *Appolonian* arts † :

If possible 'thad been fate to neglect him,

By heavenly skill immortal for to make him ;

But sith that *Phœbus* could not stem the blood

Of *Hyacinthus* in his sowning mood :

How then should I, a mortal ; ah, too shallow

In

* The poet sends Mr Ruthven to Kinnoul and Moredun-hills to collect herbs for the relief of Mr Gall who was dying of a consumption, but found all means of his recovery vain: He died young, lamented by all his friends. His memory lives in this poem, a gentleman, humane, learned, and universally beloved.

† Mr Ruthven was a Chirurgeon and Apothecary in Perth.

In witt and art press to outreach *Apollo* :
 Far be the thought I therefore must absent me,
 And never more unto the world present me;
 But solitaty with my *Gabion's* stay,
 And help them for to mourne till dying day.
 Then farewell Cabine; farewell *Gabions* all,
 Then must I meet in heaven with Master *Gall*;
 And till that time I will set forth his praise,
 In elegies of wo and mourning layes :
 And weeping for his sake, still will I cry,
Gall, sweetest *Gall*, what ailed thee to dye.

F I N I S.

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 Vol. I.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

GOWRIE'S CONSPIRACY.

TWO or three obscure hints having been given in the preceding Poem, concerning the conspiracy of John Earl of Gowrie, and his brother Mr Alexander against the King in the Earl's house at Perth, upon the 5th of August 1600. This remarkable transaction, although enveloped in much darkness, cannot well be passed over in silence, in a historical account of Perth, where the two noble brothers were slain, their honours canceled, and their ancient house extinguished.

John Earl of Gowrie a minor, succeeded to his father William the first Earl, who was beheaded at Stirling the 4th of May 1584. The Lords of this house had been long Provosts of Perth; they early embraced the principles of the reformation; the Popish Lords, spiritual and temporal, observed and watched their motions with a jealous eye.

John the 2d Earl, and subject of this disquisition, was Provost A. D. 1593, he notified to the town-council that he was to go abroad this year in prosecution of his studies. Such was the respect and love they had for this illustrious youth, that they unanimously agreed to elect him Provost at next Michaelmas term, and to continue to elect him annually until his return, which they performed.

The noble Lord proceeded on his travels through France, and arrived at Padua in Italy, the most celebrated university in Europe; Lord Gowrie continued some years at that seminary of learning, and made such proficiency in the knowledge of the belles Lettres, that he was unanimously voted into the rector's chair, which he filled with great applause, during the last year

of his residence among those learned men ; his coat of arms and titles were hung up in the great hall : From thence he proceeded to Geneva, where he abode a quarter of a year with the celebrated professor of theology, Theodore Beza, who admired and loved him. From thence he came to Paris, where he stayed a short time, and receiving commendatory letters from the English Ambassador, he went to London and was graciously received by Queen Elizabeth ; soon after he left the English court and came home.

The miscellaneous manuscript mentioned, p 81. records, that " in the zeire of God 1600 zeiris my Lord Gowrie came " hame owt of France in the month of May on the xx day at " eleven houris yetteine to this towne, with fundrie barownis, " and others." From this anecdote we see, that he was not three months at home before he was murdered on the fifth of August following. The discerning reader will perceive, that two months and a half was too short a time for the young Earl, after seven years absence, to look into his own private affairs, and to form and endeavour to execute an assassination plot against the person of the King surrounded by his courtiers, without any accomplices but his own brother who was said to be out of his wits.

The evidence of *Sprot* the notary concerning Logan of Restalrig as an accomplice of Gowrie's, deserves no credit. Archbishop Spotswood, who was on the scaffold with *Sprot* at his execution, pays no regard to it ; Lord Cromarty, in his account of Gowrie's conspiracy, gives credit to this scandalous evidence. A discourse of the unnatural and vile conspiracy (as it is called) attempted by John Earl of Gowrie and his brother against his Majesty's person at St. Johnston upon the 5th of August 1600, was published about the beginning of September following, by authority, an answer was made to it, but was suppressed. This discourse was lately republished with notes and observations. The sagacious editor has favoured us with a letter from the young Lord to the King, dated at Padua November 24. 1595. The tenor whereof follows : " Please your Majeste, gif the be- " stowing of great benefitis sould move the receavers theroff to " be thankfull to the giveris, I have mony and extraordinar oc- " casionis, to be thankfull to your Majeste ; not only being fa- " vored with the benefite of your Majesteis gude countenance and " all tymes, bot also that it hath pleasit your Majeste to accept

" so well of me as to honor me with your Majestis most loving
 " letter as with ane certain signe and vive testimonie of your
 " Majesteis gude favour and graciousnes towardis me, whereoff
 " I esteeme so much that I wald think my self very hapie if it
 " sould please your Majeste to comand me in any thing that
 " thereby your Majeste might have an tryall of my prompt and
 " faithfull obedience, for your Majesteis worthines and valor,
 " attour, the particular courtesie shauin to me, merits whatsom-
 " ever I am able to do, ane hundreth thousand tymes more. In
 " end, I pray your Majeste, to have me excused that I have
 " taine the audacitie to writt againe to your Majeste, for not
 " hauing the comfort of your Majesteis presence could not de-
 " clare my willing mynd better than by using the next remede.
 " In the mean tyme I shall repose my self still on your Majesteis
 " constant favor quhill God of his mercie grant that I se your
 " Majeste in suche an gude estate as I wishe, which will give me
 " the greatest contentment of all.
 " Sua craving earnestly of that Creator of all thingis to blese
 " your Majeste with all felicitie and satisfactiōe in health, with
 " ane increas of mony prosperous dayis. I kiss most devoutly
 " your Majesteis hands.

" Att Padua the 24 of

" November 1595.

" Your Majesteis

" Most humble Subject and

" Obedient servitor in all devotions,

" GOWRIE."

On account of the observations to be made on Gowrie and
 his brother's murder, We shall copy the discourse, as it was
 called, or account of that transaction which was published by
 authority, about the beginning of September following. The
 accurate anonymous Editor before mentioned desires us to ob-
 serve, that every thing in this discourse, which seems sup-
 ported by the evidence of the trial of the two brothers is printed
 in *Italics*, the rest of the discourse must be supported by the te-
 stimony of the King, or the authority of the historian, the reader

der by considering what is printed in *Italics*, may judge of the evidence on which the two brothers were condemned and forfeited.

HIS Majestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck hunting (as his use is in that season) upon the fifth day of August, being Tuesday, hee raide out to the parke, between six and seven of the cloke in the morning, the weather being wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But before his Majestie could leape on horseback, his Highnesse being now come down by the Eque-rie; all the huntsmen, with the hounds, attending his Majestie on the green, and the Court making to their horses, as his Highnesse selfe was, Maister Alexander Ruthven second brother to the late Earle of Gowrie being then lighted in the town of Falkland, hasted him fast down to overtake his Majestie before his onleaping, as he did. Where meeting his Highnesse after a lowe courtesie, bowing his head under his Majesties knee (although hee was never wont to make so low courtesie) drawing his Majestie n- parte, hee begins to discourse with him, (but with a very dejected countenance, his eyes ever fixed upon the earth) howe that it chanced him, in the evening before, to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the ayre solitarie alone, without the towne of Saint Johnstoun, where his present dwelling with the Lorde his brother was, and there, by accident, affirmed to have recoun- tered a base like fellow, unknowne to him, with a cloke, cast about his mouth; whom, as hee inquired his name, and what his errand was to be passing in so solitary a part, being from all waies, the fellow became on a sodaine so amazed, and his tongue so faltered in his mouth, that, upon his suspitious behaviour, hee beganne more narrowly to look unto him and examine him, and perceiving that there appeared something to be hid under his cloke, he dld cast by the lappet of it, and so finds a great wide pot to be under his arme, all full of coined gold in great peeces, assuring his Majestie, that it was in very great quantity. Upon the sight whereof (as hee affirmed) hee tooke backe the fellow with his burthen to the towne, where hee, privately, without the knowledge of any man, took the fellow and bound him in a privy derved house; and after locked many doors upon him, and had hasted himself out of Saint Johnstoun, that day by four houres in the morning, to make his Majestie advertised thereof according to his bound-dutie, earnestlie requesting his Majestie,

Majestie, with all diligence and secrecie, that his Majestie might take order therewith, before any know thereof; swearing and protesting, that he had yet concealed it from all men, yea, from the Earle his own brother. His Majesties first answer was (after thanking him for his good will) that it could not become his Majestie, to meddle any waies in that matter, since no mans treasure that is a free and lawfull subject, can, by the law, appertain unto the King, except it be found hid under the earth, as this was not. Whereunto he answered, That the fellow confessed unto him, that he was going to have hid it under the ground, but could not take leizure at that time to enquire any further of him. Whereunto his Majestie replied, That there was great difference betwixt a deed and the intention of a deed; his intention to have hid it, not being alike as if it had been already hid. Maister Alexanders answer was, That hee thought his Majestie over-scrupulous in such a matter, tending greatly to his Majesties profit; and that if his Majestie deferred to meddle with it, that it might bee that the Lorde his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his Majestie the more adoe. Whereuppon the King beginning to suspect, that it had been some foreigne gold brought home by some Jesuites or practising Papists (therewith to stir up some new sedition. as they have often times done before) inquired of the said Maister Alexander, what kinde of coyne it was? and what a fellowe he was that carried it? his answer was, that as farre as he could take leizure to see them, that they seemed to be forreine strokes of coyne; and although the fellow, both in his language and fashions, seemed to be a Scots fellow, yet he could never remember that hee had seene him before. These speeches increased his Majesties suspicion, that it was foraine coyne brought in by some practising Papistes, and to be distributed into the countrie, as is before sayde, and that the fellowe that carried it was some Scots priest, or seminarie so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof.

Whereuppon his Majestie resolved, that he would send back with the said Maister Alexander a servant of his own, with a warrant to the Provost and Bailiffes of St. Johnstoun, to receive the fellow and the money at Maister Alexander's hand, and after they had examined the fellow, to retaine him and the treasure till his Majesties further pleasure was knowne.

Whereat

Whereat the said Maister Alexander stirred marvellously: affirming and protesting that if either the Lorde his brother, or the bailiffes of the towne, were put on the counsaile thereof, his Majestie would gett a very badde count made to him of the treasure, swearing, that the great love and affection hee bore unto his Majestie, had made him to preferre his Majestie in this case, bothe unto himself and his brother: For the which service he humbly craved that recompense, that his Majestie would take the paynes once to ride thither, that he might be the first thereof himselfe; which being done hee would remitt to his Majesties owne honourable discretion, how far it would please his Majestie to consider uppon him for that service.

His Highnesse being stricken in great admiration, both of the uncouthnesse of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behaviour of the reporter; and the Court being already horfed, wondering at his Majesties so long stay with the gentleman, the morning being so faire, the game already found, and the hunting staying so long on the fields on his Majestie; hee was forced to breake off; only with these wordes, that he could not stay any longer from his sport, but that hee would consider of the matter, and, at the end of his chace, give him a resolute answer what order hee would take therein; whereuppon his Majestie parted in haste from him towards the place where the game was.

Maister Alexander parting from his Majestie very discontented, that indelayedlie he raide not to Saint Johnstoun, as he desired him; protesting that his Majestie would not finde every day such a choice of hunting as he had offered to him; and that he feared that his Majesties long delay and slownesse of resolution, would breed leizure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such dinne as would disappoint the secrecie of the whole purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be meddled with, before any worde could come from his Majestie; also that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning, which, if his Majestie had pleased to haste, he might have prevented, arriving there in the time of his brother, and the whole townes being at the sermon; whereby his Majestie might have taken such secret order with that matter, as he pleased, before their outcomming from the church. But his Majestie without any further answering him, leaping on his back and riding to the dogs where they were beginning to hunt

He said Mr Alexander stayed still in that place, where he left his Majesty, and having two men with him appointed by the Earle his brother, to carry backe unto him the certayne news in all haste of his Majesties comming (as hereafter more particularly shall in his same discourse be declared.)

He directed the one of them, called Andrew Henderson Chamberlaine to the said Earle, to ride in all haste to the Earle, commanding him, as hee loved his brothers honour, that he should not spare the spilling of his horse, and that he should advertize the Earle, that he hoped to move * his Majesty to come thither, and that he should not yet look for him the space of three hours thereafter, because of his Majesty's hunting, adding these words: Praye my Lorde my brother to prepare the dinner for us. But his Majesty was no sooner ridden up a little hill above the little woode, where the dogges were layde on in hunting; but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, he would not stay from musing and wondering upon the news. Whereuppon, without making any body acquainted with this purpose, finding John Nesmith chirurgian, by chance riding beside him, his Majesty directed him back to bring Maister Alexander with him: Who being brought unto his Majesty, and having newlie directed, as said is, one of his men that was with him backe to my Lorde his brother, his Majesty unknowing or suspecting that any man living had come with him; then told him that he had been advising with himself, and in respect of his last words so earnest with him, he resolved to ride thither for that grand in his own person, how soone the chase was ended, which was already begunne. Likeas his Majesty, upon the very ending of these wordes, did ride away in the chase, the said Mr Alexander did follow him at his backe; no other creature being with his Highnesse, but hee, and John Hamilton of Grange one of his Majesties master stablers, the rest of the court being all before in the chase, his Majesty only being cast back upon the way to speake with Mr Alexander as is before sayde.

The chase lasted from about seaven of the clocke in the morning, untill eleven and more, being one of the greatest and forest chases

* Henderson says, "Mr Alexander directed him to advertize his brother, that his Majesty will be there with a few number incontinent."

chases that ever his Majestie was at: All which time the said Maister Alexander was, for the most part, ever at his Majesties backe, as is faide. But there never was any stoppe in the chase, or so small a delay, that the faide Mr Alexander omitted to round his Majestie, earnestly requesting him to hasten the end of the hunting, that hee might ride the sooner to Saint Johnstoun. So as, at the death of the bucke, his Majestie not staying uppon the currie of the diere (as his use is) scarcelie took time to alight, awayting the coming of a fresh horse to ride on, the greatness of the chase having wearied his horse.

But the said Maister Alexander would not suffer the King to stay in the park where the bucke was killed while his fresh horse which was already sent for, was brought out of the equerie to him, (altho' it was not two flight-shot off betwixt the park where the bucke was killed, and his Majesties equerie:) but with verie importunitie forced his Majestie to leape on again uppon that same horse, that he had hunted all the day uppon, his fresh horse being made to gallop a mile of the way to overtake him; his Majestie not staying so much as uppon his sword nor while the Duke and the Earle of Mar with diverse other gentlemen, in his company had changed their horse: only saying unto them, that he was to ride to Saint Johnstoun to speake with the Earle of Gowrie, and that he would be presentlie back again before even.

Whereupon some of the Court galloped back to Falkland as fast as they coude, to change their horse, but could not overtake his Majestie untill he came within four miles of Saint Johnstoun. Others rid forward with their horses, wearied as they were, whereof some were compelled to alight by the way, and had they not both refreshed their horses, fed them, and given them some grasse by the way, they had not carried them to Saint Johnstoun: the cause of his Majesties servants following so fast, undesired by him, being only grounded upon a suspicion they had conceived that his Majesties intention of riding was for the apprehension of the Master of Oliphant, one who had lately done a vile and proud oppression in Angus; for repairing of the which, they thought that his Majestie had some purpose for his apprehension.

But the said Master Alexander seeing the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diverse of the Court, getting fresh horse for so

owing of his Majestie, earnestlie desired him that he would publish to his whole traine, that since he was to return the same evening, as is afore sayde, they needed not to follow him, especially that hee thought it meetest his Majestie should stay the Duke and the Earle of Mar to follow him, and that he should only take three or foure of his owne servants with him; affirming that if any nobleman followed him, he could not answer for it; but that they would marr that whole purpose. Whereuppon, his Majestie half angry, replyd that he would not mistrust the Duke nor the Earle of Mar in a greater purpose than that, and that he could not understand what hindrance any man could make in that errand.

But these last speeches of Maister Alexanders made the King begin to suspect what it should meanne: Whereuppon many and sundrie thoughts beganne to enter into the Kings minde: yet his Majestie could never suspect any harme to be intended against his Highnesse by the young gentleman, with whom his Majestie had been so well acquainted, as he had not long before been in suite to be one of the gentlemen of his chamber: So the farthest that his suspicion could reach to was, that it might be that the Earle his brother had handled him so hardly, that the young gentleman being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure, as he was become somewhat beside himself, which his Majestie conjectured, as well by his raised and uncourte standing, and continual pensiveness all the time of the haunting, as likewise by such strange sort of unlikely discourtes, as are already mentioned.

Whereuppon the King took occasion to make the Duke of Lennox acquainted with the whole purpose, enquiring of him very earnestly, what he knew of that young gentlemen nature being his brother in law, and if hee had perceived him to be subject to any apprehension? his Majestie declaring his suspicion plainly to the said Lord Duke, that he thought him not well sealed in his wits; alwise desiring my Lord Duke not to faile to accompany him to that house where the alleged fellow and treasure was hid.

The Lord Duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it very unlikely; yet he affirmed that he could never perceive any such appearance in that gentlemen's inclination. But Maister Alexander receiving his Majesties privy conference with the Duke, and suspecting the purpose as it appeared, came to the King requesting

his Majestie very earnestlie, he should make none living acquainted with that purpose: nor suffer none to go with his Majestie where he should convoy him, but himself onlie, untill his Majestie had once seen the fellow and his treasure: Whereunto his Majestie half laughing, gave answere, that he was no good teller of money, and behoved therefore to have some to help him in that errand. His reply was, that he would suffer none to see itt but his Majesties self at the first, but afterwards hee might call in whom he pleased.

These speeches did so increase his suspition, that then hee beganne directlie to suspect some treasonable devise, yet many suspicious and thoughts overwhelming everie one another in his mind, his Majestie could resolve uppone no certain thing, but rode further on his journey, betwixt trust and distrust, being ashamed to seem to suspect, in respect of the cleanness of his Majesties owne conscience, except he had found some greater ground. Maister Alexander still pressing the King to ride faster, tho' his owne horse was scarcelie able to keepe company with the King for weariness, having ridden with him all the chase before, the King being come two mile from Falkland, Maister Alexander staid a little behinde the King in the way, and posted away the other servant Andrew Ruthven to the Earle his brother, advertising him how farre the King was on his way to come thither. Then how soone soever the King came within a mile of Saint Johnstoun, he saide to his Majestie, that he would poste in before, to advertise the Earle his brother of his Majesties coming: who at his incomming to him was sitting at the middle of his dinner, never seeming to take knowledge of the Kings coming, till his brother told it him, notwithstanding that two of his servants had advertized him thereof before. And immediately upon his brothers report, rising in haste from the board and warning all the servants and friends to accompany him to meete his Majestie: who met him with three or foure score men at the end of the inche, his Majesties whole traine, not exceeding the number of fiftene persons, and all without any kinde of armour except swordes, no, not so much as daggers or whingears: his Majestie staid an hour after his comming to the sayde Earle's lodging in Saint Johnstoun before his dinner came in. The langsome

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ness of preparing the same, and badness of the cheere * being excused upon the sodaine comming of his Majestie, unlooked for there.

During which time, his Majestie enquired of Maister Alexander when it was time for him to goe to that private house about that matter whereof he had informed him: who answered, that all was sure enough, but that there was no haste yet for an houre, till the king had dined at leizure; praying his Majestie to leave him and not to be seene to rounde with him before his brother, who having missed him that morning, might thereupon suspect what the matter should meane. Therefore his Majestie addressed him to the Earle, and discourted with him uppone sundrie matters, but could gette no direct answer of him but half words and imperfect sentences.

His Majestie being set down to his dinner the said Earle stood very pensive, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his Majesties table, oft rounding over his shoulder, one while to one of his servants, and another while to another, and oft times went out and in to the chamber. Which forme of behaviour, he likewise kept before the kings sitting downe to dinner, but without any welcomeing of his Majestie, or any other hearty form of entertainment. *The noblemen and gentlemen of the court that were with his Majestie standing about the table, and not desired to dine* (as the use is when his Majestie is once set downe, and his first service brought up) *untill his Majestie had almost dined.* At which time the Earle convoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not downe with them himselfe (as the common manner is), but came backe, and stood silent at the end of the kings table, as he did before; which his Majestie perceiving, began to entertaine the Earl in a homely manner, wondering he had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertayne them there.

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* This it seems has been judged a circumstance of some moment, for Mr Patrick Galloway in his sermon preached at the cross of Edinburgh on the 22 of August 1600, speaks of it in the following terms: "The king gets his dinner, a cold dinner, yea, a very cold dinner, as they know who were there."

If Earl Gowrie meant to destroy the king, he ought not to have entertained him in a manner capable of creating suspicion. But we shall hear more of this afterward.

His Majestie being readie to rise from the table, and all his servants in the hall at their dinner, Master *Alexander* standing behinde his Majesties backe, pulled quiettie uppone him, rounding in his Majesties eare that it was time to goe. but that he would faine have beene quit of the Earle his brother, wishing the King to send him out into the halle to entertayne his guests, whereuppon the King called for drinke, and in a merie and homely manner, layde to the Earle, that although the Earle had seen the fashion of entertaynements in other countries, yet hee would teach him the Scottish fashion, seeing he was a Scottish man; and therefore, since he had forgotten to drinke to his Majestie, or sit with his guests and entertayne them, his Majestie would drinke to him his owne welcome, *desiring him to take it forth and drink to the rest of the company, and in his Majesties name to make them welcome*. Whereuppon, as he went forth, his Majestie rose from the table, and desired Maister *Alexander* to bring Sir *Thomas Erskine* with him; who desiring the King to goe forward with him, and promising that he should make any one or two follow him that he pleased to call for, desiring his Majestie to command publickly, that none should follow him *. *Thus the King accompanied only with the sayde Maister Alexander, comes forth of the chamber, passeth through the end of the hall where the noblemen and his Majesties servants, were sitting at their dinner, up a turneppeeke, and through three or four chambers †, the said Maister Alexander ever locking behind him every doore ‡ as he passed; and then with a more smiling countenance than he had all the day before, ever saying hee had him sure and safe enough kept; untill at the last, his Majestie passing through three or foure sundry houses §, and all the doores locked behinde him, his Majestie entered into a little study, where he sawe standing with a very abased countenance, not a bondman, but*

* Strange! that his Majestie should give such a command, and go alone with a man whom he suspected to be frantick.

† They came through the gallery into the gallery chamber, and from thence into the closet or study in the round.

‡ Not every door, for the gallery remained open, as appears from the sequel.

§ Probably a typographical error: it ought to have been rooms.

freeman, with a dagger at his girdle *, but his Majestie had no
 ner entered in o that little study and Maister Alexander with him,
 at Maister Alexander locked to the study door behind him,
 and at that instant changing his countenance, putting his hatte on
 his head, and drawing the dagger from that other mans girdle, he'd
 the point of it to the king's breast, avowing now that the king be-
 lieved to be in his will, and used as hee list; swearing many blo-
 dy thi, that if the king cryed one worde, or opened a window to
 look out, that dagger should presently goe to his heart: affirming
 that he was sure that howe the kings conscience was burthened for
 furthering his father. His Majestie wondering at so sodaine an
 alteration, and standing naked, without any kinde of armour
 at his hunting-horn, which he had not gotten leizure to lay
 on him, betwixt these two traytors who had conspired his
 death; the sayde Maister Alexander standing (as is sayde) with a
 dagger in his hand, and his sworde at his side; but the other
 trembling and quakeing, rather like one condemned than an
 executioner of such enterprife.

His Majestie begunne then to dilate to the sayde Maister Alex-
 ander, how horrible a thing it was for him, to meddle with his
 Majesties innocent blood. assuring him it would not be lest unreven-
 ged, since God had given him children and good subjs, and if they
 myther, yet God would raise uppe stocks and stones to punish
 vile a deede. Protesting before God, that hee had no burthen
 on his conscience for the execution of his father, both in respect that
 at the time of his fathers execution, his Majestie was but a mi-
 nor of age, and grieved at that time by a faction which over-ruled
 his Majestie, and the rest of his countrey; as also that what-
 ever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinary course
 of law and justice. Appealing the sayde Maister Alexander up-
 on

Mr Galloway minister of Perth, afterwards the Kings cha-
 in; in his sermon rhetorically says, " with a drawn dagger in his
 hand to have done this filthy turn;" but he presently contradicts
 himself, for he appeals to a letter from *Henderjon* to him, which
 contains these words, " while I was sitting on my knees, *Mr Alexan-*
der came with the King." *Mr Patrick Galloway* repeating *Mr Alexander's* words, saye,
 Thou was the death of my father, and here is a dagger to be
 avenged upon thee for that death."

pon his conscience, how well hee at all times since deserved at the hands of all his race, not only having restored them to all their lands and dignities, but also in nourishing and bringing up of two or three of his sisters, as it were in his own bosome, by a continued attendance uppon his Majesties dearest bedtellow in her privy chamber.

Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his Majestie had ever professed; and namely his Majestie remembred him of that holy man Maister Robert Rollock † whose scholar he was, assuring him that one day the said Maister Roberts soule, would accuse him that he never learned of him to practise such unnatural cruelty; his Majestie promising to him, on the word of a Prince, that if he would spare his life and suffer him to goe out againe, he never would reveale to any flesh living what was betwixt them at that time.

* William Earl of Gowrie was condemned at Stirling, and beheaded A. D. 1584 by the faction of the Earl of Arran, and the next year by the faction of the Earl of Angus who turned out Arran; his son was restored to his dignities and estate, the King was then a minor about 17 years old.

† He was preceptor to William Earl of Gowries children, and A. D. 1582 was appointed professor of divinity in the college of Edinburgh, he died 28th February 1598. Several works of his extant show his industry, erudition and knowledge of the Scriptures; his adversaries acknowledge him to have been a benevolent good man: Only Lord Cromartie in his account of Gowries Conspiracy published 1713, is pleased to say, that "the malicious designers against the royal family in Scotland, did at first invent, and then foment a most improbable falsehood, making it their business to suggest, that Gowerie and his brother did never conspire against the king, but that the king did murder them both. This was invented and clandestinely propagated, by Bruce, Rollock, Dury, and other Presbyterian ministers." To avoid *scandalum natum*, we have no inclination to charge his Lordship with a disloyalty, but we will charge him with inaccuracy and inattention, for it is certain that Mr Rollock who died in February 1598, could neither invent nor propagate that falsehood, being dead at least seven months before the Conspiracy happened, and with his last breath exhorted his brethren to carry dutifully towards the king.

or never suffer him to incur any harm or punishment for the same.

But his Majesties fear was, that he could hope for no sparing at his hands, having such crueltie in his looks, and standing so reverently with his hatte on, which forme of rigorous behaviour, could prognosticate nothing to his Majestie but present extremitie. But, at his Majesties *persuasive language*, he appeared to be somewhat amazed; and, *uncovering his head againe* swore and protested that his Majesties life should be safe if he would behave himselfe quietly, without making noise or crying; and that he would only bring in the Earle his brother to speake with his Majestie. Whereuppon his Majestie enquiring, what the Earle would do with him, since (if his Majesties life was safe according to promise) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner. His answer only was, that he could tell his Majestie no more, but that his life should be safe, in case hee behaved himselfe quietly, the Earle his brother, whome he was going for, would tell his Majestie at his coming. With that, as he was going forth for his brother, as he affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, saying these words unto him, I make you here the kings keeper, till I come back againe, and see that you keepe him uppon your owne peril: and therewithall sayde to his Majestie, you must content yourselfe to have this man, now your keeper, untill my coming backe.

With these words, he passeth forth, to king the doore after him, leaving his Majestie with that man he found there before him, of whom his Majestie then enquired, if he were appoynted to be the murderer of him at that time, and how farre he was uppon the counsell of that conspiracie? whose answer, with a trembling and astonished

* The King might have remembered, that it was the rinde policy of the Scottish nobles, to seize the person of their sovereign, and then to employ his name as a sanction to all their ambitious determinations. This the king himself had experienced, when the Earls father and his associates detained him prisoner in 1582. Attempts of a similar nature had been made upon him at Holyrood house, and Falkland, by Francis Stewart Earle of Bothwell. It will admit of a question, whether the young Earle without associates, would venture on such a dangerous experiment, after what befell his father.

astonished voyce and behaviour was, that as the Lord shou'd judge him, he was never made acquainted with that purpose, but that he was put in there per-force and the doore locked upon him, a little space before his Majesties comming: as indeed all the time of the sayde maister Alexanders menacing his Majestie, he was ever trembling*, requesting him for Gods sake, and with many other attestations not to meddle with his Majestie, nor to do him any harme. But because Maister Alexander had, before his going forth, made the King sweare he shou'd not cry nor open any window, his Majestie commanded the said fellow to open the window on his right hand which he readily did: so that altho' he was put in there, to use violence on the King, yet God turned his heart, as he became a slave to his prisoner.

While his Majestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne servants, nor traine knowing where he was, and as his majesties traine was arising in the hall from their dinner, the Earle of Gowrye being present with them, one of the Earle of Gowryes servants comes hastily in, assuring the Earle his master, that his majestie was horsed and away through the Insb; which the Earle reporting to the noblemen, and the rest of his majesties traine that was there present, they all rushed out together at the gate in great haste: and some of his majesties servants enquiring of the porter, when his majestie went forth? the porter affirmed that the King was not yet gone forth. Whereuppon the Earle looked very angrily uppon him, and sayde he was but a liar, yet turning him

* Bishop Williams, in his funeral Sermon on the death of King James, makes the following observation: "not a particular of his life but was a mystery of the divine providence, to keep and preserve those admirable parts for the settling and uniting of some great empire. Why did Gowries man prepared to kill him, tremble at his presence, and begin to adore him?" Thus does the Bishop relate the conduct of Henderson, and which is remarkable, he produces the account published by authority in proof of this imaginary adoration. These words were uttered from the chair of truth!

"Henderson being demanded, why he did not take the king's part, when he did see them fall a wrestling, he excused himself by a sudden fear that overtook him in the time, and indeed he looked ever after that time as one half-distracted." Spotswood

B. vi. p. 46r.

the Duke and to the Earle of mar, sayde he should presently
 get them fure word where his majestie was: and with that, ranne
 through the close, and uppe the staires. But his purpose indeede
 was, to speake with his brother *, as appeered very well by
 the circumstance of time, his brother having at that same in-
 stant left the King in the little study, and ranne down the
 staires in great haste †.

Immediately after, the Earle commeth backe, running againe to
 the gate, where the noblemen and the rest were standing in amaze,
 assuring them that the King was gone long since out at the back-
 yette,

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yette,

* This supposition seems to be contradicted by the account itself,
 which subjoins these words, *immediately after, the Earle cometh
 backe*; it is also inconsistent with the evidence of the tryal; for, 1.
 Henderson says expressly, that Mr Alexander passed out from the
 door as he believes. 2. The Duke of Lennox says, that the Earle
 of Gowrye passed up and incontinent came again into the close. He
 therefore had neither time nor opportunity for conferring with his
 brother: besides he could not possibly have known the precise mo-
 ment at which his brother was to leave the closet: indeed this part
 of the narrative little agrees with its general tenor, which purposed
 to show, that Alexander Ruthven and Henderson were instantly to
 have murdered the King.

From what has been here said, the reader may judge how little
 credit is to be given to Robert Johnston, who, lib. viii. p. 265. rer.
 Brit. hist. has adventured to relate the arguments used by Gowrye,
 in this supposed conversation with his brother; in all probability, no
 such interview then happened; and although it had, neither John-
 ston nor any other person could have known the purpose of it, or
 the resolutions then taken. A late writer bestows on this John-
 ston the appellation of *excellent historian*; *History of Great Bri-
 tain*, vol. I. p. 103. It may here be observed, that Johnston sel-
 dom produces any authorities in support of his assertions, how-
 ever extraordinary.

† This is strange: had he run down the little stair, he could not
 have met his brother, but he must have met the King's attendants
 in the close: If he ran down the principal staires this circumstance
 could not be known to the King or Henderson, because the princi-
 pal stair was at a distance from them. I think Alexander did not
 run down any stair at all. See the former note.

yet^e *, and if they halted them not the sooner, they would not overtake him; and, with that, called for his horse; whereat they rushed all together out at the gate, and made towards the Infirmary, crying all for their horses; passing all † as it was the providence of God under one of the windows of that study wherein his Majestie was. Maister Alexander very speedilie returned, and at his incomming to his majestie, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner, sayde, he could not mend it, his Majestie behoved to die; and, with that, offered a garter to bind his Majesties hands, with swearing he behoved to be bound.

His Majestie at that word of binding, sayde, he was borne a free King, and should die a free King. Whereuppon hee gripping his Majestie by the wrest of the hand, to have bound him, his Majestie sodainly relieved himself of his gripps: Whereuppon, as he putte his right hande to his sworde, His Majestie with his right hande seized upon both his hande and his sworde, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, likeas he with his left hand elasp^t the King by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his Majesties mouth, to have stayed him from crying: In this manner of wrestling his Majestie per-force drove him to the window, which hee had caused the other man to open unto him, and under the which was passing by at the same time the Kings traine, and the Earle of Gowrye with them, as is sayde, and holding out the right side of his head and right elbow, cried that they were murdering him there in that treasonable forme; whose voice being instantlie heard and knowne by the Duke of Lennox and the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his majesties train there, the sayde Earle of Gowrye ever asking what it meant? and never seeming any wayes to have seene his Majestie or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate together, the Duke and the Earle of Mar, running about to come by that passage his majestie came in at. But the Earle of Gowrye and his servants made them for another way up

* This is as I suppose, the gate into the Spygate, from the back part of the house, which lies next the Spy-port.

† This is a mistake; for it appears from the evidence of the Duke of Lennox, that he and others of the King's attendants, were then standing in the street before the gate; which is at some distance from that corner of the house, from whence the round or study projected,

up a quiet turnpeck, which was ever condemned before, and was only then left open (as appeared) for that purpose *. And in this mean time his majestie with struggling and wrestling with the said master Alexander had brought him per force cut of that study, the door whereof, for haste, had been left open at his last incomming, and his majestie having gotten (with long struggling) the sayde maister Alexander's head under his arme, and himsef on his knee, his Majestie drove him back per-force hard to the doore of the sayde turnpeck, and as his Majestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to have stricken him therewith, and then to have shotte him over the staire, the other fellowe standing behinde the Kings backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the time, Sir John Ramsay not knowing what way first to enter, after he had heard the Kings cry, by chance finds that turnpeck doore open, and following it up to the head, enters into the chamber, and finds his Majestie and Mr Alexander struggling in that forme, as is before sayde; and after he had twice or thrice stricken Maister Alexander with his dagger †

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* The author of this account was either not acquainted with the disposition of Earl Gowries house, or had forgot it, for this quiet and condemned turnpike, as it is here termed, was in truth the back stair leading to the principal apartment, first to the room, properly termed the Hall, where the King's servants dined, and then to the chamber at the end of the Gallery in the upper story, where the two brothers were killed. This stair seems to have been well known to many of the witnesses at the trial: and indeed it could not but be well known; for the entry to it was from the court, and the stair itself was built in the manner of a Tower, it has been since taken away, but sufficient vestiges of its situation still remain, and the door from it into the gallery chamber may be yet seen. It may very well have happened, that this stair was not commonly used; but then the reason must have been, that the principal apartment itself had not been much used from the time of Gowries arrival in Scotland, see the evidence of Henderson at the trial; see also what is said by Robert Christlie, Alexander Blair and John Murray.

† He struck him by order of the King, the words in his evidence are "his Majestie cryed, fy, strick him high, because he has ane pyne doublet upon him." The King acknowledges it to Mr Robert Bruce, "I grant, said he, I am art and part in Maister Alexander

the other man withdrew himselfe, *his Majestie* still keeping him grippes, and holding him close to him: immediately thereafter hee took the said Maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the stair who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Hereis, who there, upon the staire ended him; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being cast behind the Duke and the Earle of Mar, that ran about the other way by the occasion of his meddling with the said late Earle in the street after the hearing of his Majesties cry. For uppon the hearing thereof, he had clasped the Earle of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him under his feet, and wanting a dagger to have thrucken him with, the said Earles men rid the Earl their Maister out of his hands; whereby he was cast behinde the rest as is sayde; and missing the company and hearing the sayde Sir John Ramsay voice uppon the turnepeck head ran up to the sayde chambre, and cryed uppon the said Sir Hew Herreis and another servant to follow him: where, meeting with the sayde Mr Alexander in the turnpeck, he ended him there, as is sayde: Alexander crying for his last words, *Alas! I had not the wyte of it* *. But no sooner could the sayde Sir Thomas †, Sir Hew, and another servant winne into the chamber where his Majestie was, but that the sayde Earle of Gowrye, before they could gett the door shut followed them in the back, having cast him directly to come up that privy passage as is before sayde: who at his first entry, having a drawn sword

" *anders slaughter, for it was in my own defence. Why brought you him not to Justice, said Maister Robert, seeing you should have had God before your eyes? I had neither God nor the Devil before my eyes, said the King, but my own defence. Here the King began to fret, he took all these points upon his salvation and damnation, and that he was once minded to have spared Maister Alexander; but being moved for the time, the motion prevailed.*" Calderwood. Mss."

* Wyte, is blame.

† " Into the chamber with the King are only four, two lads and two men, and one of them (*Herries*) mutilated." P. Calloway Calderwood. The two lads were Sir John Ramsay and George Widdowson; the former aged twenty-three, the latter, twenty-four, as appears by their evidence at the tryal of the two brothers: but Calloway terms them lads, purposing, by that appellation, to render

worde in everie hand, and a Steele bonet on his head, accompanied
 with seven of his servants, every one of them having in like man-
 ner a drawn sworde, cried out with a great oath, that they
 would all die as traitors. All the which time, his Majestie was
 in the chamber, who, seeing the Earle of Gowrye * come in
 with his swordes in his hands, sought for Maister Alexanders
 worde which had fallen from him at his out shutting at the
 doore, having no sorte of weapons of his owne, as is sayde:
 he then was shutt backe by his owne servants, that were there
 to the little study, and the doore shut uppone him: who, ha-
 ving put his Majestie in safety, rencountered the sayd Earle and
 his servants, his Majesties servants being only in number foure,
 wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Heries, Sir John Ram-
 say, and one Wilson a servant of James Erskines, a brother of
 the sayde Sir Thomas, the sayde Earle having seven of his own
 servants with him: Yet, it pleased God, after many strokes on all
 sides, to give his Majesties servants the victorie, the sayde Earle
 Gowrye being stricken dead with a stroke through the heart,
 which the sayde Sir John Ramsay gave him, without once cry-
 ing uppone God † and the rest of his servants dung over the stairs
 with

the inequality of the combatant's evident, and the escape of the
 King miraculous, such misrepresentations are injudicious, and tend
 to discredit every historical narrative: it is indisputably certain, that
 the King and his favourers rendered this conspiracy less credible, by
 exaggerating many of its circumstances.

* This seems to be an error. On the 24th June 1601, Mr Ro-
 bert Bruce had an audience of the King, and asked him, "If he had
 a purpose to slay my Lord, as I shall answer to God, replied the
 King, I knew not that my Lord was slain, till I saw him in his
 last agony, and was sorry, yea, prayed from my heart for the
 same." Calderwood Mss. history.

† If a Saint had been struck through the heart, he might possibly
 have died without calling upon God. Circumstances of this nature
 are immaterial, and ought to have been omitted. What judgment
 then are we to frame of the following expressions, which go farther
 than the author of the narrative has adventured to go? Bishop An-
 drews, in a sermon preached before the king, 5th August 1612, says,
 addressing himself to his Majesty, and so you are found; and they,
 as the children of perdition should be, are lost: here are you,
 " and

with many hurts, as in like manner the sayde Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Heries, and Sir John Ramsay, were all three very hurt and wounded.

But all the time of this fight, the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar and the rest of his Majesties traine, were striking with great hammers at the outer doore *, whereby his Majestie passed uppe the chamber with the sayde Maister Alexander, which also he had locked in his by comming with his Majestie to the chamber, but by reason of the strength of the sayde double doore the whole wall being likewise of boardes, and yielding with the strokes: it did bide them the space of halfe an houre and more before they could get it broken, and have enterensse, who having met with his Majestie delivered from so imminent a perill and the said late Earl the principal conspirator lying dead at his Majesties feete. Immediately thereafter, his Majestie kneeling down on his knees, in the midst of his owne servants, and they all kneeling rounde about him, his Majestie out of his owne mouth, thanked God of that miraculous deliverance and victory, assuring himselfe that God had preserved him from so despaired a perill, for the perceiving of some greater work behind, to his glory, and for procuring by him the weale of his people, that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the towne † hearing of the slaughter

“ and where are they? gone to their own place, to Judas their brother, and, as is most kindly, the Sonnes to the father of wickednesse, there to be plagued with him for ever. The same way may they all goe, and to the same place may they all come, that shall ever once offer to do the like.”

* Not at the outer doore; for it appears by the evidence of the Duke of Lennox, and of Sir John Ramsay at the tryal, that the door of the gallery remained open. It was the door of the gallery chamber, at the end of the gallery, which was shut.

† By an act of the privy council, the magistrates and town-council of Perth, as representing the community, were summoned to appear before the king on the 16th September 1600, at Linlithgow, to answer for the contempt and indignity done to his majesty. This act makes mention of “ certain irreverent and undutiful speeches against his Majesty.” According to Calderwood's Mss. “ Alexander Ruthven of Forgun cried up, come down thou son of Signior Davie, thou hast slain an honest man than thy self; and” “ George

daughter of the sayde Earle of Gowrye the provost, and not following the manner thereof, nor being of the counsel of his reasonable attempt, continued for the space of two or three houres thereafter, untill his Majestie by speaking oft to them out of the windowes, and beckoning to them with his own hand pacified them, causing the bailiffes and the rest of the honest men of the town to be brought into the chamber; to whom having declared the whole forme of that strange accident, he committed the house and bodies of the sayde traitorous brethren to their keeping, untill his Majesties further pleasure were knowne. His Majestie having before his parting out of the towne, caused to searche the sayde Earle of Gowryes pockets, in case any letters that might further the discovery of the conspiracy might be found therein. But nothing was founde in them, but a little close parchment bag full of magical characters * and wordes of incantments

George Craigengelt cryed up with the rest of the town there convened, Give us out our Provost, or the kings green coat shall pay for it."

Bishop Andrews has, according to custom, exerted the spirit of declamation on this incident 5th August 1608, he says, "Last of all, and that worst of all, came the popular tumult, whose rage knows no reason: who as, *Numbers xvi.* called *Kora* and *Dathan*, the people of the Lord, so these little better; and even then also did God by his mighty providence turn away the destruction: This in the text was so done, a few words and away: this of the day was long first and much adoe, yet it was done." The same relate in his sermon 5th of August 1614. says, "The popular tumult that arose after this enraged by odious surmises was it not Gods hand that layd the raging of the waves, and that stayed the madness of the people." Again in his sermon 5th Aug. 1622. he says, "the danger of the popular tumult was worst of all."

* This is a circumstance extremely remarkable; I shall therefore beg leave to examine it at a greater length, than may perhaps suit the nature of a note.

I must be allowed to say that the circumstances in this part of the narrative, are not only probable, but true. I do not ascribe any credit to magical characters, as they are called; but I mean, that certain characters which a credulous age might term magical were found upon Gowrye.

Mr

chantment, wherein it seemed that he had put his confidence, thinking himself never safe without them, and therefore ever

carried

Mr William Rynd says, in his evidence, that he found at "Pe
" dua, in my Lords pocket, the characters that were found about
" him at his death."

Nicolson agent for the Queen of England says, in a letter to Sir
Robert Cecil 14th August 1600. "upon the Earl, they say, were
found "characters, some for love, blood, &c. and one, the last
" contra potestatem divinae majestatis." Original in the paper office

The author of a book intituled, *Ruvenorum conjuratio*. Edin
1601. in 4to, says in the preface, "Literatum velo pessimorum
" piditatum scenam inumbravit; quo testius atque occultius se pa
" tabat delicturum eo laxiores habenas ad quidvis audendum animo
" suo permittens. Quidquod animum scientiae studio flagrantem non
" coercuit? quid si literarum intemperantia laborans modum non
" tenuit? quid si nimis multa scire voluit, et ea nec bona, nec fructu
" tuosa, nec legibus concessa?—illum multifaria ingenii dote, et ver
" satili solertia usum ad naturae recondita inquirenda et ea quae su
" pra nos ad magicas et illicitas artes addiscendas nimis multa le
" quantur—quamdiu bonis disciplinis iste animum excoluit, fue
" rit sapiens, eruditus, et adprobus, at postquam servatoris sui de
" sertor, ad daemonem, velut induciis factis, transiit, curiositate
" non ferenda illusionum diabolicarum socius ac particeps esse sata
" gens, at tibi ille idem improbus, insipiens, et execrabilis, et ma
" raberis deinceps sive se noxio illo genio mancipaverit, sive cum fa
" lutis suae hoste accerimo quasi colludere sustinuerit, jam super
" illi animum lymphantibus in pessima faeinorum praecipitasse—
" Quis est in rebus aestimandis tam frutex cui ex subjecta narratione
" Caelo clarius non appareat vanitatis magicæ fuisse confectorem
" qui illi perpetuus itineris comes idem characteres perpetim circum
" gestasse testis est, at characteres eos magicos fuisse et modus ser
" vandi loquitur, et eorundem voces nefandæ clamant ita manifeste
" ut ridiculi sint si qui cum ineptis suis interpretamentis st. aman
" Scribit *Atheneus* literas *Ephesias* (ita vocabant antiquitus, nota
" las sive voces magicas, in consutilibus pelliculis olim a magis con
" cura asservatas, uti notulas itidem *Gowrius* suas libellulo inscrip
" tas in pellicula consutili custodiebat: quid si nescis quam efficacia
" credideris eas esse virtute, id ex ipsis notularum verbis percipe
" quibus, si fides, omnes potentes ad bonos spiritus adtrahendum

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"*malos propulsandum.*" A pretty odd charm this to be used by a man who had sold himself to the Devil! "*huic vim adscribit perficiendi mirabilia et indubitatae in praeliis victoriae comparandae, illi vim optata impetrandi; nonnullas etiam efficaces esse voluit adversus hominum valetudines et molestias; ab aliis contra ipsam divinarum legum in evitabilem potestatem, horresco verba referens, promptissima remedia pollicetur.*" I wish the author had informed us what were the *foolish explications* which the friends of Earl Gowrie employed in order to vindicate him from the charge of witchcraft.

If we may credit Lord Cromartie, *preface to the conspiracies of the Gowries*. Edit. Edit. 1713. p. 13. 14. the papers in question were for many years in his hands, but had been unluckily mislaid. He says from memory, *that they were full of magical spells and characters, which none can understand but those who exercise that art.* This account of them seems not to agree with the account given by Nicolson, and by the author of *Ruvenorum conspiratio*. But this may be imputed to the inaccuracy of Lord Cromarty of which I have observed many instances.

As these papers are not now to be found, and as the accounts given of them are so imperfect, it is impossible exactly to ascertain their contents.—This circumstance of the magical characters, afforded ample matter of declamation to the preachers of those days. Mr Patrick Galloway in his sermon at the cross of Edinburgh says, "The books that he used prove him plainly to be a studier of magic, and conjuror of devils, and to have had so many at his command." Calderwood's MS. in his sermon at Glasgow, 31st Aug. 1600. he says, "When he went to Padua, there he studied necromancy: his own pedagogue Master William Rhind testifies that he had these characters ay upon him, which he loved so, that if he had forgot to put them in his breeches, he would run up and down like a madman, and he had them upon him when he was slain; and as they testify that saw it, he could not bleed so long as they were upon him."

To the same purpose Bishop Andrews in his sermon 5th Aug. 1612' says, "If witchcraft be wickedness, (as it is wickedness in the highest degree) he was a *sonne* of it, it was found about him." With respect to this part of the narrative, let me be allowed to say

they were upon him, his wound whereof he died, bled not, but incontinent after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundances, to the great admiration of all the beholders: an infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house for many descents, as is notoriouſſie knowne to the whole countrie †.

in the words of the historian, " Mihi tradendi arguendique rumor causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem, poteremque ab iis quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, ne divulgata atque incredibilia, avide accepta, veris neque in miracula corruptis antehabeant." *Tacit. annal. 3.*

* Gowrye's body was pierced by a small sword, the orifice of the wound must have been small, and it would seem that he bled inwardly at first, but afterwards more freely. This appears to have been the simple fact, which ignorant and prejudiced spectators have ascribed to magical arts. The power of these enchantments seems preposterous; it could not preserve Gowrie from receiving a mortal wound, but it could prevent his wound from bleeding.

† This hereditary profession of art-magic may be proved by common report. *Patrick Lord Ruthven* (grandfather of Gowrie) in his *discourse of the troubles*, &c. printed in the appendix to *Keith's history*, p. 125. has the following words: " then her Majesty asked the said Lord *Ruthven*, what kindness was betwixt *Murray* and him? remember you, said she, what the Earl of *Murray* would have me do unto you for giving me the ring? *Ruthven* answered that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others for God's sake; and as for that ring, it had more virtue than another ring, but was a little ring with a pointed diamond in it. Remember you not, said her Majesty, that you said it had a virtue to keep me from poysoning? liketh you grace, said he, I said so much that the ring had that virtue but I take [i. e. only with the view of taking] that evil opinion out of your head of presupposition that you conceived that the protestants would have done, &c." This narrative seems to imply that *Murray* believed that *Ruthven* had given the Queen an enchanted ring, and that he sought to have him punished on that account. *Ruthven* ingenuously tells the Queen why he had ascribed some peculiar virtue to that ring: this incident, or some incident of the like nature, may probably have induced a credulous age to believe Lord *Ruthven* a Magician.

Thus the night was far spent, being near eight houres at evening before his Majestie could (for the great tumult that was in the towne) depart out of the same *. But, before his Majestie had ridden foure myles out of the same towards *Falkland*, although the night was very dark and rainy, the whole way was had with all sort of people, both horse and foot, meeting him with great joy and acclamation. The frequence and concourse of persons of all degrees to *Falkland* the rest of the weeke, and to *Edinburgh* the next, from all the quarters of the countrie, the testimonie of the subjectes hearty affection and joy for his Majesties delivery, expressed every where, by ringing of bells, bonfires,

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His son *William* first Earl of *Gowrie*, was also "said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with Wizzards touching the state of things in future times." Spottiswood, p. 332.

What Tacitus says of treason, under the reign of *Tiberius*, may be said of witchcraft in the days of King *James*. "omnium accusationum complimentum erat," Annal. 3. *Parkhurst* bishop of *Norwich*, in a letter to *Bullinger* 1566, represents *David Rizzio* as killed in necromancy, *Burnet*. Hist. Reformat. V. III. p. 322. *Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* is made to say in the silly forgery called his dying declaration, that by inchantments he procured the love of the Queen. *Stewart* Earl of *Bothwell*, was also accused of magical practices. Melvil. p. 353. Edit. Glas. 1751. *Moyeses* Memoirs p. 76.

It is no wonder that Lord *Ruthven*, his son and grandson, the two Earls, were accused of necromancy and Witchcraft, for they stood firm for the reformation against the measures of the King, his mother, and grandmother, in favours of Popery. Calvin, Luther and Knox, were accused by the Catholick writers, of being in communication with the Devil, by whose assistance they carried on the reformation, that they were men of an infamous character and impious lives. Doctor *McKenzie* in his life of *John Knox* has drawn a freightful picture of him, while he paints the Popish worthies with shining colours and places them in a striking point of view.

* In the before mentioned miscellaneous M. S. is the following anecdote. "The Earl of Gowry and his brodir the master of Rowffane were slain in Perth, in Anno 1600, in his awine Lowgine on the 5th day of Augowist be the Kingis Pege Johane Ramsay in presence of the King and the Dwick Stewert and the Earl of Mar and Tellebarine and the Leird of Bathayock meid to keep the zeit of the Lowgine till the King leip one."

fires, shooting off guns of all sortes both by sea and land, &c. with all other things ensuing thereupon, I have of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to all men, and impertinent to this discourse, contenting my self with this plain and simple narration; adding only, for explanation and confirmation thereof, the depositions of certaine personnes. who were either actors or eye witneses or immediate hearers of those things that they declare and testify; wherein if the reader shall find any thing differing from the narration, either in substance or circumstance, he may understand the same to be uttered by the deponer in his owne behoofe for obtaining of his Majesties princely grace and favour *.

Apud Falkland, 9th August 1600.

In Presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretary, Lord Campptroller. Lord Advocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot Knight.

Jam's Weimys of Bogie, of the age 26 years or thereby, sworne and examined upon the forme and manner of behaviour of the late John Earle of Gowrye, the time of his being with him at Straban, or if he had heard the sayde Earle make any motion of the treason intended against his royal Majestie, depones, that

* The author of the narrative has given us a very convincing reason for any difference betwixt the depositions of witneses and the account given in the narrative. The favour of the King is a tempting consideration. The popular tumult which was very great, was not easily quelled. Oliver Young the eldest bailie by command of the king read a proclamation at the cross, ordering all the inhabitants to disperse and retire to their houses under the pain of treason. Discrediting the report of *Gowrie's* treason, they gave small attention to the proclamation. The tumult continued for some hours, and at last subsided gradually, the king and his train escaped safe to Falkland; but neither the authority of Bailie Young, nor the eloquence of their minister Mr Coupar, could pacify their minds.

neither heard nor saw, any appearance of any such intention in the sayde Earle *.

Demaunded, if he was in any purpose with the sayde Earle, to ment any matters of curiositie: depones, that at their being in *Straban*, some of their company found an edder, which being killed, and knowledge thereof coming to the Earle, the Earle sayde to this deponer. *Bogie*, if the edder had not beene slaine, she should have seene a good sport; for I should have caused her to stand still †, and she should not have pressed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew word, which in *Scottish* is called *holiness*, but the Hebrew word the deponer remembers not of: and that the Earle sayde, he had put the same in practise oft before.

And this deponer enquiring of the Earle where he got the Hebrew word, the Earl answered, in a *cabbalist* of the *Jews*, and that it was by tradition: and the deponer enquiring what *Cabbalist* meant; the Earle answered, it was some words which the *Jews* had by tradition, which words were spoken by God to *Adam* in paradise, and therefore were of greater efficacy and force than any words which were excogitate since by prophets

* This evidence is inserted with the view of proving, not the malicious purposes, but the sorceries of *Gowrie*, how far this end has been attained the reader is left to decide.

† It was an antient superstitious notion, and which had not ceased in the days of *Gowrie*, that serpents might be rendered innocuous, by means of certain charms and incantations. The writers, who treat of magic insist on this among many other fooleries.—The form of incantation may be found at length in *Wierus*, *De Praestigiis Demonum*, lib. 5. c. 4, 5, 10. perhaps all the learning of *Gowrie* did not exempt him, from believing that such incantations were possible, and even lawful; but from this circumstance, to assert that he was a magician may seem too hasty a conclusion.

Many are the instances, even to this day, of charms practised among the vulgar, especially in the Highlands, attended with forms of prayer. In the miscellaneous manuscript cited before, written by *Bailie Dundee*, among several medicinal receipts, I find an exorcism against all kind of worms in the body in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be repeated three mornings, as a certain remedy. The poor women who were prosecuted for witchcraft administered herbs, and exorcised their sick patients.

phets and apostles. The deponer enquiring if there were more requisite but the word: the Earle answered, that a firm faith in God was requisite and necessary; and that this was no matter of marvel among schollers, but that all these things were natural. And that the Earle shewed to this deponer, that he had spoken with a man in *Italy*, and first hearing by report, that he was a Nigromancer, and thereafter being informed that he was a very learned man, and a deep theologian, he entered into further dealing with him anent the curiositie of nature.

Depones further, that the saide Earle reported to him that he being at musicke, he fell in company with another man, who staring in the Earles face, spake to the rest of the company things of him, which he could never attaine unto nor be worthy of *. And therefore that the Earle reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches. And that he met again with the same man in the like company, who did begin with the same language that he had spoken before; and that the Earle sayde to him, My friend, in case you will not hold your peace from speaking lies of me, I will make you hold your peace, by speaking truth of you; and said unto him, within such a space he should be hanged for such a crime; and so it came to pass. This deponer inquiring of the Earle, who told him that, answered merrilie, that he spake it by guesse, and it fell out so. And that the Earle sayde further that it was nothing to make herbe fleshe which would dissolve into flies †, and likewise it was possible.

* * One *Colvil* hath sent the King the collection of the fortunes that befall *Gowrye* upon his nativitie, written with the *Earles* hand. *French* at *Orleans*, and there found, containing that he should turn, be in great credit, seek for a wife, and yet dye with sword in his hand, before he should be married:” *Nicolson* *Cecil*, 22d November 1600. paper-office. It would seem that Sorcerers with whom *Gowrie* conversed, differed in their opinions of his future fortunes.

* While the doctrine of equivocal generation prevailed, this absurdity found credit. *Augustin* l. 3. de *Trinitate*, c. 7. says that magicians can speedily produce “*Animalia imperfecta, muscas, vespes, ranas et hujusmodi insecta, et alia quae ex putrefactione nascuntur, non creando sed activa passivis applicando.*” This opinion is followed by the rabble of schoolmen, and perhaps *Gowrie* himself.

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possible that the seede of man and woman might be brought to perfection otherwise than by the matrix of the woman *, and that this deponer counselled the Earle to beware with whom he should communicate such speeches; who answered, that he would speak them to none, but to great schollers, and that he would not have spoken them to this deponer, if he had not knowne him to be a favourer of him, and a friend of his house, and would not reveale the same againe, seeing hee knew they would be evil interpreted among the common sorte.

Sic subscribitur James Weemyss of Bogie.

Apud Falkland 20th August 1600.

*In presence of the Lordes Chancelour, Treasurer, Advocate,
Sir meorge Home of Spot, Sir Robert Melvil and Sir
James Melvil Knights.*

Maister William Rynd, sworn and examined. and demanded where he did first see the characters which were found upon my Lord; depones, that he having remained a space in Venice, upon his returning to Padua, did find in my Lordes pocket the characters which were found upon him at his death. and the deponer inquiring of my Lord, where he had gotten them, my Lord answered, that by chance he had copied them himself: and that

we attempted to produce so imperfect an animal as a fly by the proper application of actives to passives.

Of this *Paracelsus* speaks, "Non parva dubitatio et questio inter aliquas ex antiquis Philosophis fuerit, an naturae et arte possibile esset, hominem gigni extra corpus muliebri, et matricem naturalem? ad hoc respondeo, quod id arti spagyricae (i. e. chemicæ) et naturae nullo modo repugnat, immo autem possibile sit." He subjoins the receipt at length; but it is so licentious, and so absurd, that I must be excused from inserting it in this work. It may however be observed that, according to *Paracelsus*, men, formed by this recipe, need to learn nothing; for that, as they are made by art, they know every thing; an advantage which persons who come into the world in the natural way, never enjoy.

that the deponer knowes that the characters in Latine are my Lord's owne hand writing; but he knowes not if the Hebrew characters were written by my Lord. Depones further, that when my Lord would change his cloaths, the deponer would take the characters out of my Lords pocket, and would say to my Lord, wherefore serve these? and my Lord would answer can ye not let them be? they do you no evil. And further the deponer declares, that sometimes my Lord would forgive them, untill he were out of his chamber, and would turn back as he were in an anger. untill he had found them, and put them in his own pocket: depones further, that he was sundry tymes purposed to have burnt the characters, were it not that he feared my Lord's wrath and anger; seeing when the deponer would purposely leave them sometimes out of my Lord's pocket, my Lord would be in such an anger with the deponer, that for certayne space he would not speake with hym, nor could he finde his good countenance. And that (to this deponers opinion) my Lorde would never be content to want the characters off himself from the first time that the deponer sawe them at *Padua*, to the houre of my Lord's death.

Being demaunded for what cause my Lord kept the characters so well, depones, that, to his oppinion, it was for no good because hee heard, that, in those parts where my Lord was they would give sundry folks breeves *.

Depones further, that *Maister Patrick Galloway* lett this deponer see the characters, since that hee came to this towne of *Falkland*, and that he knowes them to be the very same characters which my Lord had. Depones also, that on *Munday the fourth of August*, the Maister, *Andrew Henderson* and the deponer remained in my Lords chamber till about ten houres even, and after a long conference betwixt my Lord and the Maister, my Lord called for *Andrew Henderson*, and after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the Maister's or *Andrew Henderson* riding to *Falkland*; and after *Andrew's* return from *Falkland* upon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he

* I think this word here means magical writings, amulets, &c.

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new not that he was come from *Falkland*. Depones, that my Lord being at dinner when the Maister came in, the deponer heard my Lord say to the Maister, is the King in the Inshe and with that he did rise, and sayde, let us goe. But the deponer knows not what the Maister said to my Lord.

Being demaunded if he did see any kind of armour or weapons, except swords in the Kings company; depones that he did see none.

It being demaunded how the deponer was satisfied with my Lord's answer made to him, concerning the King's coming to *Saint Johnstoun*, saying that he knew not how he came; declares that he thought that my Lord had dissembled with him, and that he behooved to have knowne it, seeing his brother was come with his Majestie before that he demanded of him, and that hee had conferred with my Lord privily.

Depones that he knew not that the Maister was ridden to *Falkland*, until after his Majesties comming to *Saint Johnstoun*, that *Andrew Ruthven* told him; because the deponer enquired *Andrew Ruthven* where the Maister and he had beene, and that *Andrew* answered, that they had been at *Falkland*: and that the Maister having spoken with the King, his Majestie came forward with them: And that this conference betwixt the deponer and *Andrew Ruthven* was in the yard, when my Lord was there. And *Andrew Ruthven* shewed to the deponer, that *Andrew Henderson* was directed by the Maister to shew my Lord that his Majestie was comming.

Depones also that, in his opinion, the Maister coulde not have drawne the King to my Lorde's house, without my Lord's knowledge: And that, when he heard the tumult, he was revolved in his heart the Maister had done his Majestie wrong; and that no true Christian can think otherwise *, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his Highnesse by the Maister and the Lord

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Depones;

* To this narrative the following expressions, in a letter from *Colson* to *Cecil*, 21st August 1600, may be properly subjoined. Master *William Ryn* the pedagogue, hath been extremely booted, but confesseth nothing of that matter against the Earl or his brother." *Paper office.*

Depones also, that, to his opinion, the Kings whole company was within a dozen of men.

Sic subscribitur M. W. Rynd.

Apud Falkland 20th August 1600.

In Presence of the Lordes Chancellour, Treasurer, Advocate, Controller, Sir George Home of Spot, and Sir James Melvil Knights.

Andrew Henderfoun sworn and examined, and demanded what purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrye, upon *Munday* at night, the fourth of this instant, in the sayde Earle's chamber: depones that the Earle inquired of him, what he would be doing upon the morne? and hee answered, that he was to ride to *Ruthven*: the Earle sayde to him, you must ride to *Falkland* with *Maister Alexander* my brother, and when he directs you backe see that ye returne with all diligence, if he send a letter or any other advertisement with you.

Depones, that the Maister directed him to send for *Andrew Ruthven* to be in readinesse to ride with them the morrow about foure houres in the morning.

Declares that they coming to *Falkland* about seven houres in the morning, the Maister stayed in a lodging beside the palace and directed the deponer to see what the King was doing; and the deponer finding his Majestie in the close comming forth, he past backe, and told the Maister, who immediately addressed himselfe to his Highnesse, and spake with his Majestie a good space beneth the equirie: and after his Majestie was on horse backe, the Maister cometh to the deponer, and commaunds him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved his Lordes honour and his, and advertise my Lord, that his Majestie and he would be there incontinent, and that his Majestie would be quiet: And the deponer inquiring of the Maister, if he should goe presently, he did bid him leap on and follow him, and not to goe away untill he spoke with the King: and the Maister having spoke with the King at a breache of the park

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wall, he turned backe, and bade the deponer ride away; and
 the deponer making his returne in all possible haste to *Saint*
Johnstoun, he founde my Lorde in his chamber about ten houres,
 who left the companie he was speaking with, and came to the
 deponer, and asked, hath my brother sent a letter with you?
 the deponer answered, no: But they will be all here incont-
 nent, and bade the deponer desire my Lord to cause prepare
 the dinner. Immediately thereafter, My Lord took the depo-
 ner to the cabinet, and asked at him, how his Majestie took
 with the Maister his brother? the deponent answered, very well,
 and that his Majestie laid his hand over the Maisters shoulder.
 Thereafter my Lord enquired, if there were many at the hunt-
 ing with the King? the deponer answered, that he took no
 heed, but they who were accustomed to ride with his Majestie,
 and some *English men* were there, and that my Lorde inquired
 what special men were with his Majestie, and that the deponer
 answered, he did see none, but my *Lord Duke*. And within an
 houre thereafter, when the deponer came in from his owne
 house, the Earle bad him put on his secret, and plaitte sleeves,
 for he had an Hylandman to take; which the deponer did in-
 continent: and about twelve houres, when the deponer was
 going out to his own house to his dinner, the steward came to
 him and told him, that George Craigengelt † was not well,
 and was laine downe, desired him to tarry and take up my
 Lords dinner: And about halfe an houre after twelve, my
 Lorde commanded him to take up the first service. And when
 the deponer was commanded to take up the second service, the
 Maister and *William Blaire* came into the hall to my Lord.

The deponer remembreth himselfe, that *Andrew Ruthven*
 came before the Maister a certain space, and spake with my
 Lorde quietlie at the table, but heard not the particular pur-
 pose that was amongst them. And so soone as the Maister came
 to the hall, my Lord and the whole company rose from the
 table; and the deponer hearing the noyse of their forthgoing,

E c 2

supposing

* It is *Charles* in *Henderfons* evidence at the tryal, 15th Novem-
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supposing they were going to make breaks for *Maconilduy* * and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steel-bonnet; and seeing my Lorde pass to the Inshe, and not to the Shoegate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantry, and caused his boy to take his Steele bonnet to his own house: And he followed my Lorde to the Inshe, and returned backe with his Majestie to the lodging, being directed to get drinke. And the Maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister *William Rynde* to send him up the keye of the gallerie chamber; who past up and delivered the key to the Maister: and immediately my Lorde followed up, and did speake with the Maister, and came downe againe, and directed Maister *Thomas Cransfome* to the deponer, to come to his Lordship in his Majesties chamber. And that my Lord directed him to go up to the gallerie to his brother; and immediately my Lorde followed up, and commanded the deponer to bide there with his brother, and to do any thing that he bade him †: the deponer inquired at the Maister, what have ye to do Sir? The Maister answered, ye must go in here and tarry till I come backe, for I will take the key with me. So he locked the deponer in the round within the chamber, and tooke the key with him. Shortly thereafter the Maister returned, and the kings Majestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the Maister opening the doore entered with the King into the sayde rounde; and at his very entrie, covering his head, pulled out the deponers dagger, and held the same to his Majesties breast, saying, remember ye of my father

* This expression is obscure. *Henderson* in his evidence at the tryal says, that he believed that *Gowrye* was going to take the Highlandman. The expression here has probably the same meaning. To make breaks for *Macconelduy*, i. e. to make breaches for the son of black *Macdonald*, may signifie to secure the Highlandman, and commit him to prison. Thus *stone doubles* is a vulgar English phrase for a prison. *Gavin Douglas* in his *Virgil*, p. 374. l. 42. uses this word *Braik*, for threatening, bragging, and reproving sharply.

† Bishop *Andrews* in his sermon 5th August 1617. has thus adorned the injunctions of *Gowry*, "said not *Abfalom* to his assassins, "when I give you a sign, see you smite, kill him, fear not, have not I commanded you? said not they the same to him, whom to that end they had armed and placed to do that wicked act,"

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ther's murder? yee shall now die for it *: and minting to his highness heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out the Master's hand †: and swore that as God shall judge his soul, if the Master had retained the dagger in his hand, the space that a man may goe six steps, he would have stricken the King to the hilts with it: but wanting the dagger, and the Kings Majestie giving him a gentle answer, he sayde to the Kings Majestie, with abominable oathes, that, if he would keepe silence, nothing should aile him, if he would make suche promise to his brother, as they would crave of him: And the Kings Majestie inquiring what promise they would crave: he answered, that he would bring his brother. So hee goes forth, and lockes the doore of the round uppon his Majestie and the deponer: having first taken oathe of the King that he should not crie, nor opene the windowe.

And his Majestie inquiring of the deponer, what he was? he answered, a servant of my Lordes, and his Majestie asking of the deponer, if my Lord would do any evil to him? the deponer answered, as God shall judge my soul, I shall die first. And the deponer pressing to have opened the window, the Maister entered, and said, Sir, there is no remedie, by God you must stay †: and having a loose garter in his hand, pressing to have bound his Majesties hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of Maister *Alexander* his hands, and then the Maister did put one of his hands in his Majesties mouth, to have stayed him from speake, and helde his other arme about his Majesties necke, and that this deponer pulled the Maisters hand from his Majesties mouthe, and opened the windowe; and then his Majestie cryed out thereat; whereuppon his Highnesse servants came in at

* These words are of the utmost moment; and yet *Henderfon* in the tryal of the brothers, has omitted them: and on the contrary says, that *Alexander* used this expression, "You must be my prisoner, remember on my fathers death," and that he threatened him with death if he cryed out.

† *Henderfon* says, that he took the Masters dagger out of his hand, and saved the King. the [king] he remembers it not."

Colson to Cecil 3. September 1600. paper office.

‡ These words are also omitted by *Henderfon* in his evidence at the tryal.

at the gate, and this deponer did runne and open the doore of the turnpecke head, whereat *John Ramsay* entered : and the deponer stode in the chamber untill he did see *John Ramsay* give the Maister a stroke, and thereafter privily conveyed himself downe the turnpecke to his own house : and the deponers were inquiring of him, what the fray meant ? the deponer answered, that the Kings Majestie would have been twice sticked had not hee relieved him.

Further, the sayde *Andrew Henderson* depones, that after his returning from *Falkland* on the fifth of this instant, Maister *John Moncrieff* inquiring of him, where he had beene ? he answered that he had beene beyond the bridge of *Erne* ; and says that he gave that answer to Maister *John*, because my Lord had commanded him to let no man know that he was to ride to *Falkland* and that my Lords direction to him was, to come backe with his brother Maister *Alexanders* answer : and to leave *Andrew Ruthven* to awaite upon the Maister.

Further, the sayde *Andrew Henderson* depones, that, when he had taken the Maisters hand out of the Kings mouth, and was opening the windowe, Maister *Alexander* sayde to him, wilt thou not helpe, woe betyde thee, thou wilt make us all die,

Sic subscribitur Andrew Hendersoun
with my hand.

22d August 1600.

Maister *William Rynd* sworn and re-examined, if ever he heard the Earle of Gowrye utter his opinion, anent the deuteie of a wise man in the execution of an high enterprize : declares, that being out of the country, he had diverse times heard him reason in that matter, and that he was ever of that opinion, that it was not a wise man, that, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but to himselfe ; because keeping it to himselfe, it could not be discovered.

* It was natural for the King and his ministers to enquire who were the accomplices of Gowry and his brother ; and when no accomplices could be discovered, to impute this to the caution of Gowry. This appears to be the reason of the question put to *Rynd* by *Spotiswood* says. *History of the church of Scotland*, B. 6. p. 40.

never nor disappointed: which the deponer declared before, required, to the Controller, and *Maister William Couper* Minister at *Perth*: and hearing the deposition of *Andrew Henderson* and, and being inquired upon his conscience, what he thought of the fact that was committed against his Majesty? declares, that upon his salvation, that he believes *Andrew Henderson* has declared the circumstances truly.

Sic subscribitur, M. W. Rynd.

End of the ACCOUNT published by Authority.

IT would appear that the ferment raised in the town of *Perth* did not soon subside. The two Ministers Messrs *William Couper* and *Patrick Galloway*, were at the outmost pains in perswading them to believe the Kings account of the conspiracy. Mr Couper was at *Falkland* on the 9th August and heard the depositions of the witnesses before mentioned, and conversed particularly with *Andrew Henderson* in prison; next Sabbath he preached in *Perth* on the repentance of *Zaccheus*, and took occasion to make

I remember my self that meeting with *Mr William Couper* then minister at *Perth*, the third day after, in *Falkland*, he shewed me, that, not many days before that accident, visiting by occasion the *Earl* at his own house, he found him reading a book intitled *De conjurationibus adversus principes*; and having asked him what book it was, he answered, that it was a collection of the conspiracys made against princes, which he said were foolishly contrived all of them, and faulty either in one point or other; for he that goeth about such a business should not, said he, put any man on his counsel." From the title and contents of this book I am much inclined to think that it was the Latin translation of *Machiavel's* discourses on *Livy*. B. 3. c. 6. Gowry might very innocently read that discourse — It may be observed, that the conjectures, which the King and his ministers formed, were afterwards fully proved, in their own opinion, when *Logan of Restalrig* and *Bour* appeared to have been conscious of the purposes of Gowry, by the testimony only of *Sprot* the notary, which was not credited by *Arch-bishop Spotiswood* who heard his evidence, and saw him executed, several years after *Logan* and *Bour* were dead.

make mention of what happened on the 5th, which he toucheth very delicately. I shall transcribe what he says from the manuscript in my custody.

" I think among all the works of God that serves to humble
 " us, this last miserable event that fell out among us, one of the
 " first, I know there is many of you but thinks of it as I do
 " my self when I heard first of it, that indeed he had sufferit
 " an innocent, and what grief then it wrought in me, my own
 " conscience beareth me record. The loss of an earthlie creature
 " went never so near my heart, and the first thing that
 " ever chilled my affection toward him, was an appearance that
 " he had gone without the compass of godlines, whilk meind me
 " say thir words unto my people, I know, said I, that it is light
 " that first men satisfie your discontentit minds; and therefore
 " the father of light send light: But I am sorrowful from my
 " heart, that the light that is, makes against him whom we
 " loved, and if that light break out as is begunne, we will find
 " our selves disappoyntit of our hope; and that whilk I speak
 " then unto thame, I speake presentlie unto you. The light
 " that hitherto God has discoverit in that matter enclyoes to the
 " clearing of his Majesties innocence, and layis ane blame
 " the other. and if yee crave my reassone, I say it is the testimony
 " monie of his servant, that presentlie is in prisoun + whilk
 " my judgment is meekle to be regairdit, for I have known
 " him now thir four or five years bygane, and can give him
 " other witness but that whilk both toun and countrie will give
 " abute him, that is the testimony of a man that feareth God
 " deils uprightlye with all men, and whereas some of you thinke
 " that he is bot a supposititious man, and that his deposition
 " is rather a policie, then any veritie; that is mair incredible
 " to me, then any other thing of this action unto you: and
 " my testimonye can have ony credit with you, I will beare
 " you recorde, that it is verifit to me by honest men of
 " toun, that hee wes seene come downe the staire from the
 " chamber quharin the King was, before ony of the Kings
 " vants enterit up except *John Ramjay* only, or before my Lord
 " enterit in, and what his depositione is I will tell you shortly
 &c.

* Andrew Henderson Gowrie's steward at Scone.

We see that Mr Coupar's conviction rests entirely on Henderson's character and deposition, and many believed that he was a supposititious person, and was not in the closet. One thing is certain that he was liberated from prison, and discharged without trial for treason, which confirmed many in their unbelief.

The parliament met on the 15th of November following. The Lords of the articles, (who are a committee of parliament,) were chosen, to examine the witnesses on the trial of the two noble brothers. These were the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Marischal, Errol and Mar, the Lords Seton, Livingston, Newbattle and Fyvie, seven barons and nine commissioners of burghs.

Andrew Henderson was committed prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, at the instance of the Kings Advocate Sir Thomas Hamilton, to stand trial for treason; but Mr Thomas Henryson one of the Commissaries of Ediburgh, compeared for the said Andrew Henderson, and produced the writ following, undersubscribed by the Kings Advocate.

It is our will, and we command you, that upon sight hereof, ye delete Andrew Henderson, chamberlain to unquhile John Earl of Gowrie, his name furth of the summons of treason and forfaiture, raised and executed against him, for being art, part, redd, counsel and counselling of the late treason conspired by the said unquhile Earl, his unquhile brother, and complices, against our person; and as you will answer to us hereupon: keeping thir presents for our warrant. Subscribed with our hand at Holy-rood-house the 15th of November 1600. Six subscribitur. JACOBUS REX. conform where unto, the Advocate did delete him.

The Kings Advocate produced a summons of treason duly executed against William Ruthven, brother and apparent heir to John Earl of Gowrie, and Mr Alexander Ruthven, to hear it read and declared, that the said Earl of Gowrie and Master Alexander his brother had committed treason in attempting to deprive his Majestie of his life, at St Johnstoun on the 8th of August last.

A Summons was also produced duly executed against Alexander and Henry Ruthvens, sons to Alexander Ruthven of Freehill, and against Hugh Moncrieff, brother to William Moncrieff of that ilk, Patrick Eviot, brother to Colin Eviot of Balhousie,

to hear and see themselves discerned as guilty of high treason and lese-Majesty against the King at *Perth* the 5th of August last.

The depositions of the witnesses, examined in presence of the Lords of Articles, for proving of the saids two summonses of treason, taken from the public records by Lord Cromartie.

The Duke of *Lennox* sworn and examined, depones, that upon the fifth day of August last bypast, this deponent, for the time being in *Falkland* in company with his Majesty, he saw *Mr Alexander Ruthven*, speaking with his Grace before the stables betwixt six and seven in the morning, and shortly thereafter, his Majesty passing to the hunting of the buck, and having slain one in the park of *Falkland*, his Highness spake to the deponent, desiring him to accompany his Majesty to *Perth*, to speak to the Earl of *Gowrie*. And incontinent thereafter, this deponent sent his servant for another horse, and for a sword, and lap on and followed his Grace. And as this deponent overtook his Grace *Mr Alexander Ruthven* was speaking with his Majesty, and shortly after the deponents coming to the King, his Highness rode a-part, and spake with this deponent, saying, ye cannot guess what errand I am riding for? I am going to get a pose at *Perth*: and *Mr Alexander Ruthven* has informed me, that he has found a man, that has a pitchard full of coined gold, of great worth. And in the mean time, his Highness inquired of this deponent, of what humour he thought *Mr Alexander* to be of; who answered, that he knew nothing of him, but as of an honest discreet gentleman. And after that his Highness had declared to this deponent, the hail circumstances of the man who had the said gold, the place where it was found and where it was kept, this deponent answered, I like not that, Sir; for that is not likely. And they riding beside the bridge of *Erne*, his Majesty called to the deponent, that *Mr Alexander* desired him to keep the matter of the pose secret, and take no body with him; and that his Highness both at that time, and thereafter at *St Johnstone* within the Earl of *Gowrie's* hall, said to this deponent, take care where I pass with *Mr Alexander Ruthven*, and follow me*. And as his Majesty was within a mile to *Pearth*, after that *Mr Alexander*

* If this was true, why did the Duke, with all his suspicions about him, disobey the Kings command?

under had come a certain space with his Highness, he rode away and galloped to *Pearth*, before the rest of the company, towards his brothers lodging; of purpose, (as the deponent believes, to advertise the Earle of *Gowrie* of his Majestys coming there; and his Majesty was within two pair of butt-langs to the town of *Pearth*, the Earl of *Gowrie*, accompanied with diverse persons all on foot; met his Highnesse in the Inche, and saluted him; and immediately thereafter, his Majesty, accompanied with this deponent, the Earl of *Mar*, *Inchaffrey*, *Sir Thomas Erskine*, laird of *Urchil*, *James Erskine*, *William Stuart*, *Sir Hugh Herries*, *Sir John Ramsay*, *John Murray*, *John Hamilton of the Grange*, and *John Grahams of Bagowie* [Balgowan]; past all together, in the Earl of *Gowries* hall; the said Earl of *Gowrie* and the said *Mr Alexander Ruthven* being baith present with them: And after their entry, his Majesty cry'd for a drink, which was a long time a coming: And it was an hour after his first coming, before his Majesty got his dinner: And in the time that his Majesty got his desert, the Earl of *Gowrie* came to this deponent, and to the Earl of *Mar*, and remanent persons foresaid, and desired them to dine, which they did, in the hall; and when they had near hand dined, the Earl of *Gowrie* came from his Majesties chamber, to drink his *scoll* [health] to my Lord Duke, and the rest of the company, which he did. And immediately after the *scoll* had past about, this deponent raise from the table, to have waited upon his Majesty, conform to his former direction; and then the Earl of *Gowrie* said to the deponent, that his Majesty was gone up quietly some quiet errand*: And then the Earl of *Gowrie* cryed for the key of his garden, and pass'd his company with this deponent, to the garden, accompanied with *Andros* and *Sir Hugh Herries*, and certain others: And shortly after their being in the garden, *Mr Thomas Cranston* came down to the garden, crying, the Kings Majesty is on horseback, and ridden through the Inche; and then the Earl of

F f 2

Gowrie

* Tradition, among the people of *Perth*. says that, after dinner the King whispered to *Mr Alexander*, to lead him to a necessary use which he did, without any weapon upon him excepting a sword so rusted in the scabbard, that scarcely two men could draw

Gowrie cryed, Horse, Horse; and the said Mr *Thomas Cranston* answered to him, your horse is in town; to which the Earl of *Gowrie* made him no answer, but cried ay, horse, horse. And this deponent and the Earl of *Gowrie*, came first out of the garden, through the hall, to the closs, and came to the oute-gate; and this deponent speired at the porter, if the King was furth who answered, that he was assured that his Majesty was not come furth of the place. Then the Earl of *Gowrie* said, I am sure he is first always; stay, my Lord, drink, and I shall gan up, and get the verity and certainty thereof: and the said Earl of *Gowrie* passed up, and incontinent came again to the closs, and he affirmed to this deponent, that the Kings Majesty was furth at the back gate and away. Whereupon this deponent, the Earl of *Gowrie* and *Mar*, and hail company past furth at the fore gate of the lodging; and staid before the same gate upon the street, and as they were standing there, advising when to seek the King, incontinent, and in the mean time, this deponent heard a voice, and said to the Earl of *Mar*, this is the Kings voice that cry's, be where he will: and so they all looked up to the lodging, and saw his Majesty looking furth of the window, wanting his hat; his face being red, and an hand gripping his cheek and mouth; and the King cry'd, I am murdered! I reason! My Lord *Mar* help, help! And incontinent this deponent, the Earl of *Mar* and their company, ran up the stair of the gallery-chamber, where his Majesty was, to have relieved him: And, as they passed up, they found the door of the chamber fast; and seeing a ladder standing beside, they rushed at the door with the ladder, and the steps of the ladder brake: and syne they send for hammers; and notwithstanding the large forcing with hammers, they got not entry at the said chamber, while after the Earl of *Gowrie*, and his brother were both slain; that Robert Brown past about by the back door, and came to his Majesty, and assured his Highness, that it was the Lord Duke and the Earl of *Mar*, that was stricking up the chamber-door, and the hammer was given through the hole of the door of the chamber; and they within, brake the door and gave them entry: And, at their first entry, they saw the Earl of *Gowrie* lying dead in the chamber, Mr *Alexander Ruthven* being slain, and taken down the stair before their entry; and

their first entry within that chamber where the King's Majesty was, the deponent saw sundry halberts and swords stricking under the door of the chamber, and sides thereof, by reason the same was nae clos door; and knew none of the strickers, except *Alexander Ruthven* one of the defenders, who desired to speak with this deponent through the door, and spiered at him, for God's sake tell me how my Lord of *Gowrie* was: To whom this deponent answered, he is well; and the said deponent bade *Alexander* go his way, and that he was an fool; and that he would get little thanks for that labour; and, in the mean time, as they were continuing to strick with halberts under the door, neikle *John Murray*, servant to *Tullibardin*, was stricken through the legg; and how soon the said *Alexander Ruthven*, had heard the said Lord Duke speak, he and his hail complices past from the said door, and made no more trouble thereafter thereat, and fast down to the clos, and stood there; and saw none of the remanent defenders present, at the doing of the violent turns that day, except by report, but the said *Alexander Ruthven*: but says that he saw *Hugh Moncrief*, and *Alexander Daitheries*, and *Patrick Eviot*, with the Earl of *Gowrie*, at the King's dinner that day: And that before and thereafter, looking over the chamber window, he saw *George Craigengelt* and *Alexander Ruthven*; and did see others of the Earl of *Gowrie's* servants whom this deponent knew not, standing in arms within the clos: And also saw other persons carrying an joist from the door down, to the clos of the Earl of *Gowrie's* lodging; and declares, that there abode sundry persons within the said clos, and in the high street, before the said Earls lodging, crying and making tumult, to the space of two hours and mair next after the death of the said Earl of *Gowrie* and his brother.

Sic Subscribitur LENNOX.

The Earl of *Mar*, sworn and examined, depones, conform to the Lord Duke of *Lennox's* deposition in all things substantial, except that his Lordship saw not *Mr Alexander Ruthven* at *Falkland*, while about ten hours the day libelled, shortlie before the slaying of the buck; and also, overtook not his Majesty that day, while his Majesty was near the bridge of *Erne*: And that after their dinner, My Lord of *Mar* passed not to the yeard, [garden]

[garden] in company with the Earl of Gowrie, but passed to a chamber where the King dined, and saw nothing of the joist.

Sic Subscribitur M A R.

We are now to hear the deposition of *Andrew Henderson* who was, by many, believed to be a supposititious witness and actor in the tragedy. The reader will see what agreement there is betwixt this and his deposition emitted at the precognition in *Falkland* upon the 9th August last.

Andrew Henderson, chamberlain of *Scoon*, sworn, deposes that he is of the age of thirty eight years, declares, that upon Munday at night, the fourth day of *August* last past, this deponent being, after supper, in company with the Earl of Gowrie and *Mr Alexander Ruthven*, within My Lords own chamber the Earl of Gowrie inquired at this deponent, what he had to do to morrow? to whom this deponent answered, that he had to do to ride to *Ruthven*, to speak with the tenants. Then the Earl of Gowrie answered, stay that journey, you must ride to *Falkland* in company with my brother *Mr Alexander*. and take with you *Andrew Ruthven*; and that ye be ready to ride in four hours in the morning: and haste thou back with answer, as my brother orders you by writ or otherways and let *Andrew Ruthven* remain with my brother. And in the morning, after four hours, they rode all three to *Falkland*; and coming to *Falkland*. they lighted at *John Balfour* house, and seeing that Colonel *Edmund* was there, they lodged in an *Lam's* house; and the Master sent this deponent about seven hours in the morning, to see what the King's Majesty was doing; and as he was within the place, he saw the King's Majesty coming forth, midclothes, booted; and then he returned back again to the Master, and said to him, haste ye, the King's Majesty is coming forth; and incontinent, the Master followed his Majesty, and spake with his Majesty foreanent the equiries, and the King laid his hand on his shoulder, and clapped him, when they spake together, be the space of an quarter of an hour. And thereafter the Master directed this deponent to ride to *Perth* in haste, as he loved the Lord Gowrie's, and his honour, and advised his brother, that his Majesty will be there with a few number incontinent; and cause make his dinner ready: The

is deponent answered, shall I ride presently? The Master answered No, but stay a while and follow the King and me, while I speak with his Majesty again; And as his Majesty was riding through the sloap [breach] of the park dyke, the Master spake to his Majesty, and immediately thereafter, the Master bade this deponent pass to *St Johnstoun*, with all possible diligence, according to his former directions: And, at this deponents coming to *Perth*, it was shortly after ten hours in the morning, he entered in the Lord of *Gowrie's* chamber, where he saw his Lord speak with *George Hay* and *Mr Peter Hay*: And how soon my Lord of *Gowrie* saw this deponent, and enquired secretly, what word he had brought from his brother; and if he had brought any letter? This deponent answered, that the Master his brother bade tell his Lordship, that the King's Majesty would be there to-morrow; and bade haste his dinner. Then the Earl bade this deponent follow his Lordship to the cabinet, and speired at him how his Majesty had tane with his brother? he answered, that he was well tane with; and when he did his courtesie, the King laid his hand upon his shoulder. The Earl speir'd, what number of persons was with the King at the hunting? he answered, that he knew not well, but that there were sundry of his own with him, and some *English men*; and then the Earl speired, what noblemen was with him? he answered, none but my Lord Duke. And, thereafter this deponent past to his own house in the town, and took off his boots, and returned to the Earl within an hour; and how soon the Earl saw him in his chamber, he called upon this deponent, and bade him put on his secret [a coat of mail] and plate sleeves; the deponent enquired to what effect? the Earl answered, I have an Highland man to take in the *Shoe gate*; and then the deponent past to his own house, and put on his secret and plate-sleeves, came back again to the Earl of *Gowrie's* house: and about half an hour to that, the Earl commanded this deponent take up my dinner, and this deponent past and took up the first service by reason *Charles Craigingelt* was sick: And incontinent, the said Earl past to his dinner, accompanied with *Mr John Moncreif*, Laird of *Pitcreif*, Master *James Drummond*, Alexander *Baron of Findowne*. And shortly after the first service was set down, my Lord sitting at the table with the usual company, *Andrew Ruthven* came in from the Master, and

and rounded to the Earl but heard not what he said; and shortly after, this deponent passing down to take up the second service, Mr *Alexander Ruthven* and *William Blair* came in to the Earl, my Lord sitting at his dinner; and how soon my Lord saw them, he and his hail company rose from the table, and then this deponent hearing my Lord on foot, bid this deponent send for his steel bonet and gantlet, believing that my Lord was going to take the said Highland man: And as this deponent perceived my Lord passing to the *Inch*, and not to the *Shoegate*, he sent home his steel bonet, and cast his gantlet in the pantry, and thereafter followed the Earl to the *Inch*, where he saw the said Earl with his Majesty, the Duke and the Earl of *Mar*, and came in all together to the Earl's house; the Master of *Ruthven* speired at this deponent, where the key of the gallery chamber was who answered, that he handled not that key since the Earl came in *Scotland*. Then the Master bid this deponent speak to Mr *William Rhind* to give to him the said key. And the Master passing up to the gallery, Mr *William Rhind* followed him, and gave to him the said key: And thereafter, immediately after his Majesty's down sitting to his dinner, Mr *Thomas Cranston* came to this deponent, and bade him gang to the Earl of *Gowrie* which this deponent did. And the Earl of *Gowrie*, in the outer-chamber, where the King dined, spake to this deponent secretly, and bade him pass to the gallerie to his brother: So he passed up, and the Earl follows him; and they being all three together in the gallery-chamber (whereof he had the key from Mr *William Rhind*) the Earl said to this deponent, tarry still with my brother and do any thing he bids you. Then this deponent came to the Master, and speired, what will you do with me, Sir? then the Master spoke to my Lord, let *Andrew Hayryson* go into the round [study or closet] of the chamber, and I will lock him in, and take the key of the chamber with me. Where this deponent bode half an hour or thereby, locked he allane, having his secret, plate sleeves, sword and whinger with him, and wanting his steel-bonet. And all this time, this deponent feared some evil to be done: That, upon this, he kneeled and prayed to God; and about the end of the half hour, Mr *Alexander* opens the door of the room, and entered first with the same, having the kings Majesty by the arm, and puts on

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upon his head, draws forth this *Andrew Henderson* deponent's whinger; and says to the King, having the drawn whinger in his hand, Sir, you must be my prisoner; Remember on my father's death. And as he held the whinger to his Majesty's breast, the deponent threw the samen furth of Mr Alexander's hands. And the time that Mr Alexander held the whinger to his Majesty's breast, the King was beginning to speak. The master said, Hold your tongue, Sir, or, by Christ, yee shall die. Then his Majesty answerad Mr Alexander, ye and I were very great together; and as touching your father's death, Man, I was but a minor. My council might have done any thing they pleased. And farther, man, Albeit ye bereave me of my life; ye will not be King of *Scotland*; for I have both sons and daughters; and there are men in this town, and friends that will not leave it unenged. Then Mr Alexander answered, swearing with a great oath, that it was neither his life nor his blood that he craved, the King said what traiks [then] albeit ye take off your hat; and then Mr Alexander took off his hat. And the King said, what is it ye crave, man, and ye crave not my life? Who answered, Sir, it is but a promise. The King answered, what promise? the said Mr Alexander answered, for, my Lord my father will tell you. The King said, fetch hither your brother. And syne the said Master Alexander said to the King, Sir, I will not cry, nor open the window, while I come again? And the King promised so to do. Then Master Alexander past forth and locked, and past not from the door as he believes. In the mean time the King entered in discourse with this deponent, how came you in here, man? and this deponent answered, as GOD lives I am shut in here like a dog. The King answered, Shall my Lord of *Gowrie* do me any evil, man? This deponent answered, I vow to GOD! shall die first, and then the King bade the deponent open the window; and he opened the window and looked to the Spy-Tower: And the King answered, Fy, the long window, man! And thereafter this deponent passing to another window nearest to his Majesty, to open the same; before he got to the window Mr Alexander opened the door, and came in again, and said to his Majesty, By GOD! there is no remedy; and then he louns to the King, and got him by both hands, having an garter in his hands. Then the King answered,

swered, I am a free Prince, man; I will not be bound; so his Majesty cast loose his left hand from Mr Alexander, and at the same time, this deponent draws away the garter from Mr Alexander, his majesty loops free from the said Mr Alexander, and the said Mr Alexander follows his majesty, and with his left hand about his majesty's craig, puts his right neeve [fist] in his majesty's mouth: So his majesty wrestling to be quit of him, this deponent puts his hand out of his majesty's mouth. And thereafter, this deponent did put his left hand over his majesty's left shoulder, and pull'd up the broad of the window whereunto the said Mr Alexander had thrust his majesties head and shoulders, and with the force of the drawing up of the window, presses his majesties body about, his right side to the window: at which time his majesty cries forth, Treason! Treason! So the master said to this deponent, is there no help with thee? Wo worth thee, Villain, we all die. So twining his hand on the guard of his own sword; and incontinent the King's Majesty put his hand on the master's hands, and stopp'd him from drawing of his sword. And this ways they both grasped together, come furth of the cabinet to the chamber; and in the mean time, this deponent threw about the key, then standing in the door of the head of the turnpike which entered to the chamber, and opened the door thereof, eschew [escape] himself, and to let his Majesty's servants see, and how soon he opened the door, John Ramsay came in at the same door with an hawk on his hand, and passed to the King's Majesty and laid about him, and drew his whinger; and as he saw him minting with the whinger, this deponent past forth the said door and passed down the turnpike. And as this deponent passed through the clofs, and came to the foregate, the deponent saw the Earl of Gowrie standing before the gate, accompanied by sundry persons, of whom he remembers none, but remembers well that the Earl had this deponents knapsack or head piece, on his head, and two swords drawn in his hands, and incontinent thereafter, this deponent passed to his own lodging, where he remained while the King passed furth of the town; and then this deponent passed to the bridge and walked up and down for the space of an hour, and returned not again to the Earl's lodging, and the time of his entry to his house the

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ight, this deponent's wife inquired at this deponent, what trouble was within the place? to whom he answered, well is it of one thing, that if I had not been there, the King had been twice stuck this night; but wo's me for the thing that is fallen out. And this deponent being demanded by *John Montgiff*, after his returning from *Falkland*, where have you been with your boots on? answered, he had been two or three miles beyond *Erne*, and durst not tell him the veritie, by reason the Earl of *Gowrie* had discharged him to tell the errand, he sent him, to any body. And farther, this deponent declares, that when he saw the Earl of *Gowrie* standing with the drawn swords before the gate, this deponent spoke not to the Earl, neither to the Earl to him at that time, but he passed to his own house.

Sic subscribitur

Andrew Henderson.

Sir Thomas Erskine, of the age of 36 years, sworn, depones, that immediately after he heard his Majesty cry forth of the window of the round, *Fy, help! I am betray'd, they are murdering me!* He ran with diligence towards the place, to have helped his Majesty; and before his entry, seeing the Earl of *Gowrie*, this deponent and his brother, gripped him by the neck and said to him, *Traytor, this is thy deed.* Whilk Earl answered, *What is the matter? I ken nothing.* Immediately the Earls servants severed him from this deponent and his brother. And when this deponent entered within the close, he foregathered with *Sir Hugh Herries*, who demanded of the deponent what the matter meant, and in the mean time the deponent heard *Sir John Mansay* crying out at the turnpike head, *fy, Sir Thomas, come up the turnpike, even to the head!* And as this deponent had passed up five steps of the turnpike; he sees and meets with *Sir Alexander Ruthven* blooded in two parts of his body, viz. in his face and in his neck; and incontinent, this deponent cries to *Sir Hugh Herries*, and others that were with him, *Fy, this is the Traytor, strike him!* and incontinent he was stricken by them, and fell; and as he was fallen, he turned his face and cried, *alas! I had not the wye [blame] of it; this deponent*

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being

being standing above him in the turnpike. Thereafter the deponent passed to the head of the turnpike, and entered within the chamber at the head of the gallery, where the King and Sir John Ramsay, was there alone present; and at the first meeting this deponent said to his Majesty, I thought that your Majesty would have concredited more to me, nor to have commanded me to have awaited your Majesty at the door, gif ye thought it not meet to have taken me with you. Whereupon his Majesty answered to this deponent, alas! the Traytor deceived me in that, as he did in the leave [rest] for I commanded him expressly to bring you to me, which he promised to me to do, and returned back, as I thought to fetch you, but he did nothing but steiked [shut] the door. Shortly thereafter, Hugh Herries followed the deponent into the chamber, and George Wilson, servant to James Erskine: And immediately thereafter, Mr Thomas Cranston, with his sword drawn in his hand, entered within the said chamber; and the Earl of Gowrie followed him within the same chamber, with an drawn sword, every one of his hands, and a knapschaw [helmet] on his head, who struck at this deponent and his colleagues an certain space. Likeas they defended them and struke again: And that same time the deponent was hurt in the right hand, be Mr Thomas Cranston: and this deponent heard my Lord of Gowrie speak few words at his entry but understands them not. At last, Sir John Ramsay gave the Earl of Gowrie an dead straik; and then the Earl lean'd him to his sword, and the deponent saw a man be him up whom he knew not; and how soon the Earl fell to the ground, Mr Thomas Cranston, and the remanent who accompanied him, departed and passed down the turnpike. And the deponent remembers that at that time, there were more persons in the chamber with the Earl of Gowrie by [besides] Mr Thomas Cranston, but knew name of them, except he believes that an black man, that was there in company within the chamber was Hugh Moncrief; but the deponent knows not well, whether or not it was Hugh Moncreif.

Sic subscribitur,

Thomas Erskine.

Sir John Ramsay, of the age of twenty three years, or thereby, sworn, depones, that immediately after he had-dined, the day li-
 lled in the Earl of Gowrie's house, he took his Majesties hawk
 om John Murray, to the effect the said John might have dined;
 and the deponent missing his Majesty, and foregathering with the
 id of Pittencreif in the Earl of Gowrie's hall; and demand-
 of Pittencreif where his Majesty was? the said Laird first
 nvoy'd the deponent to the chamber where the King dined;
 ereafter to the yeard [garden] hoping that his Majesty had
 en there, and missing his Majesty in the yeard, convoy'd the
 eponent up to an fair gallery, where the deponent was never
 tore; where having remained a certain space beholding the
 allery, they came both down to the clois, where they met with
 r Thomas Cranstoun in the midst of the clois, who said to them,
 at his Majesty was away upon horseback, at the Inch: Where-
 on this deponent and Pittencreif sindered; and the deponent
 assed furth of the gate, to his stable, to have gotten his horse,
 and being standing at the stable-door, he heard his Majesty's cry,
 ew his Highness's voice, but understood not what he spoke;
 hereupon he comes immediately within the clois, and finding
 a turnpike door open, he enters within the samen, and runs up
 e turnpike, while he comes to the door upon the head there-
 f, and hearing an struggling and din of mens feet, he ran with
 s hail force at the door of the turnpike lead, which enters to
 e chamber at the end of the gallery; the deponent having in
 e mean time his hawk on his hand, and having dung open the
 oor, he sees his Majesty and Mr Alexander Ruthven in others
 ms, striving and wrestling together, his Majesty having Mr
 Alexander's head under his arm, and Mr Alexander being almost
 n his knees, had his hand upon his Majesty's face and mouth;
 and his Majesty seeing the deponent cry'd, fy! strike him laigh,
 ecause he has an pyne doublet upon him. Whereupon the de-
 oner cast the hawk from him, and drew his whinger, where-
 ith he strake the said Mr Alexander, and immediately after he
 as stricken, his Majesty shot him down stairs whereat this de-
 onent had entered: thereafter this deponent addresses him to a
 window, and looking furth thereat, and saw Sir Thomas Erskine,
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the deponent cryed, *Sir Thomas*, come up this turnpike even to the head. In this mean time his Majesty did put his foot upon the hawk-leash, and held her a long time, while the deponent came and took her up again, and then *Sir Thomas Erskin* entered. And further says, that when the deponent first entered within the chamber, he saw a man standing behind his Majesty's back, whom he noways knew, nor remembers not what appareling he had on, but after that this deponent had stricken *Mr Alexander*, he saw that man no more.

Sic subscribitur

Sir John Ramsay.

Several other witnesses were sworn and examined, but as they were not present and knew nothing of the transactions between the King, *Mr Alexander* and *Andrew Henderson*, it is needless to trouble the reader with them.

The court proceeded to give sentence, and condemned the two noble brothers as guilty of treason, and declared their names dignities and memory extinguished, their arms to be cancelled out of the books of arms and nobility; and their estates confiscated, and to appertain to the King for ever, and the bodies of the Earl and his brother to be hang'd, drawn and quartered at the cross of Edinburgh, and the heads, quarters and carcasses to be affixed upon the most patent parts and places of *Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Stirling*. The name of *Ruthven* was abolished. The Earls two brothers *William* and *Patrick* both minors were disinherited, and rendered incapable to enjoy any inheritance, place or office within Scotland. And all persons were discharged to move or interceed for them under high pains. Such of the name of *Ruthven* as were innocent of the treason were ordered to take other names, and to be inserted in public records.

Thus *Ruthven* castle was called *Huntingtour*, which, with the barony, was given to *Murray of Tullibardin*, as was the barony of *Scone* to *Sir David Murray of Gossportrie*, who was created *Lord Scone*, and afterwards *Viscount Stormont*. Notwithstanding the abolition of the name and honours of *Ruthven*. King *Charles the Second* A. D. 1651. created *Ruthven* of *Freeland*. Low

Ruthven

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Ruthven who is a descendant of the antient and honourable house of Ruthven, by *Alexander*, second son of *William Lord Ruthven*, who was one of the first Lords that supported the reformation.

We have now heard the account of the Conspiracy of the two noble brothers, given by the King and his Court, which, notwithstanding the deposition of so many respectable witnesses, was not believed by many. In proof of this, we shall give the opinion of cotemporary writers from *Mr Harris' historical and critical account of the life and writings of James the first*. Edit. London 1753.

Whether there was any such conspiracy of the Gowries against the King, or whether it was only a pretence, in order to palliate the murder of them, has been much debated. *Spotiswood* believed it, it was generally believed by the courtiers at the time it happened, and the assistants of the King received honours and rewards; *Burnet* (no ways prejudiced in favours of the King) gives credit to it, and *Mr Crawford* tells us, that, after what the Earl of *Cromarty* hath lain together in his *historical account of the Conspiracies of the Earl of Gowrie against K. James*, he hopes few or none will suspect, far less doubt its truth and reality. I hope I shall not be thought to be maliciously set against the royal family or the great King who was more immediately concerned in this affair, if I give the reasons that may be assigned for doubting the truth of the King's narration.

1. We are to observe that the next day after this happened, the ministers were called together at *Edinburgh*, and desired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for the King's deliverance, but they, by no persuasion could be moved to do

2. The most of the ministers being hereupon commanded to leave the city in 24 hours, and forbid to preach in his Majesty's dominions, on pain of death, complied, owning themselves convinced of the truth of the conspiracy; yet we find *Mr Robert Bruce* saying he would reverence his Majesty's report of that accident, but could not say he was persuaded of the truth of it *.

2. Osborn tells us, no Scotsman you could meet beyond sea bnt

* *Spotiswood*, p. 451.

but did laugh at it, and the peripatetick politicians said, the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit. But I will not (adds he) wade farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by *all mens* relations *foul and bloody*, having nothing to palliate it, but jealousy on the one side, and fear of the other *. And indeed the relation of this affair, in *Spotiswood*, is confused and marvellous. The drawing the King to *Perth*, the getting him from dinner to examine a stranger; the discourse of *Gowrie's* brother with him, and his stout and gallant behaviour (which in no other part of his life appeared) and his causing the two brothers to be killed when he might with the same ease have secured them, the denials of *Gowrie's* servants of their knowledge of the affair, and the tale of the Earl's girdle, are circumstances which are not easily to be swallowed by the inquisitive and sceptical.

3. *Burnet* himself allows, that the Conspiracy was charged at that time, by the *Puritans* in Scotland on the King, as a contrivance of his, to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great esteem. And afterwards he says, it was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of the conspiracy: for eight years before that time, K. *James* on a secret jealousy of the Earl *Murray*, then esteemed the handsomest man in Scotland, set on the Marquess of *Huntly*, who was his mortal enemy to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand, he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire, and the Earl flying away, was followed and murdered, and *Huntly* sent *Gordon of Bucky*, with the news to the King. Soon after all who were concerned in that vile fact, were pardoned, which laid the King open to much censure, and the matter of *Gowry* to be less believed.

4. Sir *Henry Neville*. in a letter to Mr *Winwood*, dated Nov. 15. 1600. from London, writes, ' Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement between the King of Scots and his wife, and many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the Earl *Gowry's* brother (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy '.

* Works of Francis Osborn Esqr, p. 535. 8vo.

† *Winwoods* memorials, vol. 1. p. 274.

And Mr Winwood in a letter to Secretary Cecil from Paris, dated 17. May 1601. says, 'The Ambassador of Scotland hath been advertised of a dangerous practise against the Scots King, that lately one called *Glarnet* hath been sent out of *Scotland*, with letters to *Bothwell* to hasten home with diligence, where he shall find sufficient assistance. The principal person who employed this party is the *Queen of Scotland*; and letters have been intercepted out of Scotland from Mr *Gray*, that the death of *Gowry* should shortly be revenged.' [Winwood, 326.]

A report is handed down that Lord *Gowrie's* brother received from the Queen a ribband which she had got from the King, that Mr *Alexander* went into the King's garden at Falkland on sultry hot day, and lay down in a shade and fell asleep. His breast being open, the King past that way and discovered part of the ribband about his neck below his gravat, upon which he made quick haste into the palace, which was observed by one of the Queen's ladies who past the same way. She instantly took the ribband from his neck, went a nearer way to the Queen's closet, where she found her Majesty at her toilet, whom she requested immediately to lay the ribband in a drawer, she quickly refused telling her Majesty that she would presently see reason for it, in a short time the King came in, and demanded a sight of the ribband he had lately given her. Her Majesty opened the drawer, and presented the ribband to him, which, when he had attentively considered, he delivered to her Majesty, and retired uttering these words, *D — I tak' me, but LIKE is an ill mark.* These passages compared may possibly give the Reader some light in the affair. A gallant, or a supposed one slain, was not sufficient to induce a lady to give a husband trouble, and nothing so likely as this to excite her to revenge. These are the reasons which may induce some persons to doubt about the truth of *Gowrie's* conspiracy, whither they are sufficient, the con- siderate Reader will determine. However, one reflection naturally arises from the subject, viz. that the people entertained a very poor opinion of *James's* veracity and honesty. The ministers we see could not be induced to give thanks for his deliverance. out of a distrust of his account, till fear of their own safety brought them to a compliance, and the general be-

lief of the people of the nation both at home and abroad, was, that it was mere contrivance in order to screen himself from the guilt and infamy he must otherwise have lien under. Unhappy situation this! truly worthy of commiseration. For a prince believed false, treacherous and bloody, must be despised, hated and contemned, and can expect nothing but unwilling obedience from his subjects; and it must be confessed, *James* had given but too much reason to them to view him in these lights [Harris, p. 12. &c.]

The Duke of *Sully*, speaking of the Queen, says, 'She was naturally bold and enterprising: she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue *.' Sir Edward Peyton says of her, 'that besides *Gowrie's* brother she had a great number of gallants both in Scotland and England †.'

Calderwood, in his manuscript history preserved in the college of *Glasgow*, has a letter wrote by *K. James* to the Pope wherein he offers obedience to the holy See, and craves that one of the Scottish nation might be created Cardinal, that by him as an agent, he might the more easily and safely do his business with the Pope—When this letter was afterwards made public *James*, tho' he could not deny the fact, however in order to amuse his subjects, pretended, that it was surreptitiously obtained by Lord *Balmerino*, and accordingly that Lord, following in all things the direction of Lord *Dunbar*, after having confessed that he himself drew the letter without his Majesty's knowledge or consent, and got him ignorantly to sign it, had sentence of death pass on him for this his action. No doubt of it, *James* thought hereby to have cleared himself in the eyes of his subjects of all correspondence with the Pope. But 'when *Balmerino* was presently pardoned, and, after a short confinement, restored to his liberty, All men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the Secretary, was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the King's favouring Popery, which still hung upon him, notwithstanding his writing on the *Revelations*, and his affecting to enter

* *Memoirs*, v. 1. p. 211. Edit. Lond. 1751.

† Peyton's divine catastrophe, p. 10. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the Pope was Antichrist†.

It is not improbable that *George Sprot* the notary who made the discovery of *Robert Logan of Restalrigs* conspiracy, expected to come off in the same way with *Balmerino*: But *James* might think as the old proverb has it, *Dead men tell no tales*. There is ground to believe that the King and his Court were sensible that the proof against *Gowrie* was lame, and that the ferment of the people was not settled, when, eight years after *Gowrie's* death, the strange and single testimony of *Sprot*, condemned a dead man as an accomplice of *Gowrie's* treason, but this manoeuvre did not answer the designs of the Court.

Calderwood, whom *Guthrie* follows on account of his integrity and honesty, has given an account of *Gowrie's* death and character in his manuscript history preserved in the College Library of Glasgow, ad an. 1600, from which the following extracts are given for the Readers consideration.

This relation came not forth so full and in print, till a month after that it was perceived that many did not believe the reports that were made by word or by particular information in write which were among themselves. When the bruit [noise] of the fact came to *Edinburgh* upon Wednesday the 6th of August by nine hours in the morning, and a letter from the King to the council at ten hours, the ministers of *Edinburgh* were charged to compare before the council, they compare, the King's letter was read, bearing that the King was delivered out of danger, and that therefore the ministers should be commanded, to go to the kirk, convene the people, ring bells and give praise to God, But before they could give their answer, the Provost and some of the council were sent for by the Lords of the secret council, and therefore they were dismissed before they made answer. In the mean time the ministers go to the kirk to advise. They said they could not enter in particular defence of the treason, seeing the King made no mention of treason in his bill; and the reports of courtiers varied among themselves, While they are thus consulting, cometh a mace and chargeth them to compare before the Lords of secret coun-

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cil, The Earl of *Montrose* Chancellor desires them to go to the kirk to praise God for the King's *miraculous* delivery from that vile treason. They answered all in one voice, they were not certain of the treason, and therefore could make no mention of it, but would say in general, that he was delivered from great danger, or otherwise if their honours would give them leisure till they got the certainty, they should not only blaze the treason, but also be content that his house were made a jester. The Lords said it should be sufficient to read his Majesty's letter. They answered, they could not read his letter and doubt of the truth of it. It were better to say generally, if the report be true. The Lords of secret council would not be content with *ifs* and *ands*. In the mean time cometh in Mr *Darling*, and sheweth that he had been at *Falkland*, and telleth the history of the fact. It was thought meet in respect he heard the narration out of the King's own mouth, that he instead of the rest should give praise to God. The consent of the ministers was craved. Mr *Robert Bruce* answered, if he spoke the truth as he would be answerable to God, he was well content. So Mr *David* went with the Lords of Council to the market cross of *Edinburgh*, and after he had made an harrangue to the purpote, the people with discovered heads, praised God, the bells rang, the cannon of the castle shot between three and four in the afternoon, and bonfires were set out before every house that night. The ministers thought the council had been satisfied, but they report hardly of them to the King.

The same night, the 6th of August, the *Master* of *Orkney* and Sir *James Sandilands* with some horsemen rode to *Dirlston* to apprehend the Earl of *Gowrie's* two bretheren *William* and *Patrick Ruthvens*, but they were removed half an hour before after advertisement made from court by one *Kennedy*. The Countess of *Gowry* carried herself soberly, till it was said no evil should betide them, but only they should be committed to the custody of the Earl of *Montrose* Chancellour; then she burst forth in these words, Ah! Ah! false traitor Thief, shall my bairns come in his hands.

This night bonfires were set out upon *Arthur's Seat*, *Falkehill* and all high places far and near on this and the other side of the water. Because many doubted of the report that

was made by the King and courtiers, many means were used to make good the report with presumptions and testimonies which were gathered out of the depositions of some persons who were examined upon the ninth of August.

In the first proclamation after the slaughter, the armed man who should have assisted Master *Alexander* in the study to slay the King was named *Oliphant*, and described to be a black grim man; but when that could not be made out, they named others, *Leslie* and sometimes *Younger*. This *Younger* servitor to the Earl of *Gowrie*, was in *Dundee*, when the fact was committed. When he heard that it was bruited [noised] that he was the man, he addresseth to come to *Falkland* to the King to purge himself, but was slain by the way by Captain *Hary Bruce* (now Colonel) in a corn rigg, and when he was brought to the cross of *Falkland*, Mr *Patrick Gallaway* said to the King, "Now, Sir, the man who should have helped to have done the deed, he could not be gotten alive, but there he lies dead;" and yet Mr *Patrick*, as was constantly reported, moved Mr *Andrew Henderson* to take upon him that he was the armed man, who should have assisted Master *Alexander*. Certain it is that Master *Patrick* and he were familiar of old, because he being *Gowrie's* chamberlain paid to Master *Patrick* a pension out of the Abbacy of *Scone*. His pension was afterwards doubled by the King, whereby the suspicion was confirmed, as also by reason he was not a black grim man, as was described in the proclamation, but a man of lower stature, ruddy countenance, and brown bearded; it was collected that he could not be the man: Yea, the King himself, being demanded the day after the fact, while he was at the hunting by Goodman of *Pitmenie*, whether *Andrew Henderson* was the man? Answered, *that it was not he, he knew that Smack well enough.*

Upon Monday the eleventh of August the King went over the water, landed at *Leith*, and was attended by the citizens of *Edinburgh* under arms. Mr *David Lindsay* minister at *Leith* attendeth him to the kirk, exhorteth him after thanksgiving to perform his vows made before times of performance of justice, at which words he smiled and talked with these that were about him after his unreverent manner of behaviour at sermons. Hereafter he went up to *Edinburgh*, where Mr *Patrick Galloway*

way made a sermon to the people convened about the cross and the King, an harrangue both tending to perswade the people that *Gowrie* and his brother had verily conspired the King's death, and were slain in the execution of the enterprize: His harrangue did not perswade manye partly becaule others were named before *Henderfon* to be the armed man in the study, viz. *Oliphant*, *Leslie*, and *Younger* who was slain.

Upon Tuesday the 12th of August, the ministers of *Edinburgh* were charged by a macer to compear before the King and Conuncil. The King demanded at *Mr Robert Bruce* in name of the rest, why they disobeyed him and his council, and would not praise God for his delivery? They answered, they had not disobeyed, but were all ready to have praised God for his delivery generally, as they did upon the Sabbath immediately following; but they could not descend into particulars to qualify what sort of danger it was, in respect they had no certainty. Had ye not my letter, says the King, to shew you the certainty? Sir, said *Mr Robert*, your letter did bear no particular, but made mention only of a danger in general, and we were content to follow it. Could not my council, said the King, assure you of the particulars? Withall addresseth himself to the President, assure ye not them, says he to the President? The President answered Yes, Sir, We all assured them of the certainty of the Treason. Sir, With their honours leave, said *Mr Robert*, they had received no information, except *David Moyse* bill, and *John Graham of Balgonie*, his report who came in the mean time when the Lords were sitting in council, and the two reports did so fight against one another. that no man could find any certainty. The Secretary riseth up and said they agreed very well, the President said the like. *Mr Robert* answered he had *David Moyse* letter to shew, which testify the contrary. The king asked at last How are ye yet perswaded? Ye have heard me, ye have heard my Minister [*Mr Galloway* who was made Chaplain] ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of *Mar* touching the report of this treason, whether are ye yet fully perswaded or not? Surely Sir, says *Mr Robert*, I would have further light before I preached it to perswade the people; if I were but private subject, not a pastor, I could rest upon your Majesty's report as others do. Then the King asked *Mr James Balfour*

ye fully perswaded? He answered, I shall speak nothing to
 the contrary, Sir. But are ye not perswaded, says the king?
 Not yet, Sir, said he. Mr *William Watson* answered after the
 same manner. Mr *Walter Balcanqual* said, that he would affirm
 that Mr *David Lindsay* preached in the pulpit, in presence of
 his Majesty yesterday. What said Mr *David*? said the king.
 Mr *David*, said he, founded himself upon your Majesty's re-
 port, and made a faithful rehearsal of your report, and so shall
 I. Think ye said the king that Mr *David* doubted of my re-
 port? Mr *David* was sent for incontinent. He said unto him,
 are ye not certainly perswaded of this treason? Yes, Sir, says
 he, I am perswaded in conscience of it. Now, says the king,
 are ye surely perswaded indeed. Sir, says he, I would have
 further time and light. Then the king asked at Mr *James Hall*,
 are ye fully perswaded? He answered, I would have the civil
 law going before, Sir, that I may be perswaded. Then the
 king asked at Mr *Peter Hewit*, whether are ye yet perswaded or
 not? Sir, says he, I suspect not your proclamation. But whe-
 ther believe ye it or not says the king? The President, said he,
 heard what I said the last Sabbath. The President began to
 justify him. But the king insisted, saying, let me hear him myself,
 whether believe ye my proclamation, or not? Says the king.
 Sir, says he, I believe it. So they were all removed, and after
 great space, the Mace cometh to them with a roll in hand,
 wherein all their names were written, and a score drawn upon
 Mr *Peter* and Mr *George Robertsons* name, Mr *George* and Mr
Peter were not called in, the rest were called. The Chancellor
 pronounces the sentence, first they are discharged preaching un-
 der pain of death, throughout all the kings dominions. Next,
 they were charged to remove out of Edinburgh within 48
 hours after the charge, and not to come near *Edinburgh* be the
 space of ten miles, under the pain of death. They thanked the
 king heartily, and said their sentence was very welcome, and so
 departed out of the Council-house. Upon the day following,
 they gave in a new supplication to the council with common con-
 sent, wherein they offered three things: 1st, To give God
 thanks for his Majesty's delivery most heartily. 2dly, To make
 a faithful report as his Majesty had delivered to them of the whole
 story touching the treason, 3dly, They offered to speak no-
 thing

thing in the contrar, but to do all the good offices which might serve to nourish his Majesty's credit and estimation in the hearts of the people. Every man who saw it, thought their supplication could not be refused, yet was it refused, and answered upon the back after this manner, that they should confess a fault and crave his Majesty's pardon most humbly. 4thly, That they should esteem the history of this treason an undoubted truth and publish it as an undoubted truth to their flocks. They seeing their bills refused, craved prorogation of their day, that they might have further light, which was refused also, So upon Thursday in the morning the 14th August, they departed from the town.

This occasion was gripped at to overthrow the Ministry of *Edinburgh* which crossed the Court in all their evil proceedings and was a terror to the session, nobility, and others of the land to restrain from impiety, injustice, and all wickedness. Mr *Bert Bruce* especially was hated for his uprightness, and opposition to the episcopal course, for which cause he was never suffered to return to *Edinburgh* again to this hour, so the King and Council usurped the place and authority of the kirk, and deprived them of the exercise of the ministry within the country by their own authority.

Much labour was taken to get confirmation of the report which was made by the witnesses, at least by presumption grounded upon former evil practises wherewith the Earl was burthened, that it might be thought the more probable. *William Rhind* his pedagogue at the schools, both at home, and in *Italy* was tortured in the boots, where he got chops so that his legs were crushed, and he sorely tormented; but they could never extort out of him any privy or knowledge of the fact.

The discourse and depositions coming forth in print, for the satisfaction of the people, ministred occasion of censure, sitting weighing the probability and likelyhood, and by conterrering the discourse and depositions with themselves, and with the arranges made by Mr *Patrick Galloway*, as with the reports that went abroad.

It was thought strange that two youths, of so good education and great expectation should upon a sudden fall to the extreme of wickedness and villainy. The Earl was brought up upon

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Mr Robert Rollock, and was dearly beloved to him by his good behaviour, and the virtues which appeared to be in him. After the Earl past his course, the Master succeeded in the same education. The Earl soon after he came from the schools went to Italy, applyed himself to his studies in *Padua*, wherein he proceeded so well, that for the estimation they had of his learning besides his virtues and good carriage, that he was made *Rector* for a year in the Univerlity of *Padua*, where his name and arms are yet to be seen. Returning homewards he stayed in *Geneva* a quarter of a year, where he lodged in the house of Mr *Beza*, who loved him so dearly that he never made mention nor heard of his death, but with tears. Out of *Geneva* he sent a letter to his old Master Mr Robert Rollock, wherein he gave tokens of his zeal to religion, and shewed the great contentment he had in the fellowship with Mr *Beza* and other learned men there. Mr *Beza* within a year after the fact wrote to the two exiled and distressed bretheren, *William* and *Patrick* and offered them sure receipt and harbour in *Geneva* if it pleased them to accept of it. It was thought strange that they should invite the king to their own house, and there attempt any thing against his life. How could they be but accountable for the King, he coming within their gates, yea, and invited to come as is alledged in the discourse.

The pretence of the invitation, viz. to see a pot of gold or foreign coin in gold, seemed not a device fit to be propounded to the King, in such a manner that he must come in person to see it, as if the King might not commit the credit of such a matter to another? How could the king suspect that it was foreign coin brought in by some practising Papists to be distributed in the country as is alledged in the discourse? could such a quantity of gold portable in a pot, or in a man's arm disturb the peace of the country?

If the king suspected that the fellow that carried it was some Scottish priest, or seminary disguised, why did the Latin edition conceal that he was suspected to be a Scottish priest or seminary? may be the Papists would have said it was a lie.

If Mr *Alexander* was discontent with the king's delay, and protested he feared the king's long delay and slowness of resolution would breed leisure to the fellow who was bound to cry

and make such din, as would disappoint the secrecy of the purpose, might not the king, or any man have thought that the fellow had leisure enough to cry before the master came to him? And sicklike, when they came to *Perth*, if it was to be feared, why went they not directly first to the fellow with the treasure?

If the king in the way betwixt *Falkland* and *St Johnstone* when Mr *Alexander*, after the king's conference with the Duke was so earnest that none should be suffered to go with the king to the place where the fellow was, till he had seen him, began to suspect some treasonable device, why went the king forward with such a suspicion, suppose never to light, for so feckless [trivial] a matter?

If the Earl was advertised that the king was coming to dinner, before the king came, Why was there not better cheer prepared? if it had been but to colour the enterprize. If the king suspected some treasonable device, How could he go whither Mr *Alexander* led him, not staying upon Sir *Thomas Erskine* whom he did call for or some other? How could his fear be increase, perceiving *Alexander* ever to lock the doors after them? It was thought a foolish thing in Mr *Alexander*, and unlikely to hold the point of a dagger to the king's breast and then stand upon parly.

If the King had but his hunting horn about him, and Mr *Alexander* a sword, How could the King go alone with him suspecting any treasonable device? If Mr *Alexander* threatened the King with the dagger, what assurance had he that the King would behave himself, till he went out and brought his brother? or how could he rely upon an oath extorted through fear? If the armed man in the study, who should have been the executioner, trembled and quaked like a condemned man. How could Mr *Alexander* leave him to be the King's keeper, till he came back again?

It was thought strange that a man should be employed to be executioner of such a purpose, and not be made acquainted with it before, but to be put in by force not knowing for what end.

If Mr *Alexander* had a sword when he returned to the study it was thought a foolish thing to present a garter to bind the King, the matter requiring speedy execution, and if he presented

ed a dagger at the first time, his purpose has been to shed blood, which could not but be marked, and therefore the report of strangling, and of a cave to put him in was very unlikely.

It was thought a very unfit time to execute the enterprize, while the Kings train was passing by under the window, and when they might have heard the noise.

It was thought strange and unlikely, that the King should draw Mr *Alexander* that was thrice as strong, to the window, bring him per force out of the study, and drive him back per force to the door of the turnpike. Mr *Patrick Galloway* in his harangue calleth this a miracle. Many wonder why Mr *Alexander* was not preserved alive, and brought to trial if he was guilty of any such enterprize; for when Sir *Thomas Erskine* and Sir *Hugh Herries* met him in the stair he had been sore wounded by Sir *John Ramsay*, his sword not drawn, and having no dagger in his hand, might not such a man wounded, and in a manner unarmed, thrust and shot down at pleasure, easily have been taken? the Earl likewise, after he was stricken, might have been preserved alive,

If the armed man trembled and quaked, when Mr *Alexander* held the point of the dagger to the King's breast, how could *Andrew Henderson* who alledged he was the armed man, throw the dagger out of Mr *Alexander's* hand, being a strong man, and the trembling and quaking? If Mr *Henderson* threw the dagger out of the master's hand, as he alledgeth in his deposition, how could the Master trust him with the keeping of the King till he returned, as the discourse relateth? *Henderson* deponeth that he pulled the Master's hand, from the King's mouth, and opened the window and the King cried out. The discourse relateth, that the armed man opened the window before Mr *Alexander* returned again; and that the king drew Mr *Alexander* per force to the window, which he had caused the other man open per force before, and the Latin discourse addeth, that he called upon some of the king's servants, if any had been in the streets. Mr *Galloway*, in his harangue at the cross reporteth, that the armed man was standing with a drawn dagger in his hand, to do this althy turn. The discourse relateth, that Mr *Alexander* drew the dagger from the man's girdle. Mr *Patrick* in his harangue reporteth that the master locked the study door behind him when

he came last in. In the discourse it is said, that the Master, for haste, left the study-door open at his last incoming, and that therefore, the king, wrestling with Mr *Alexander*, brought him per force out of the study, the door being left open by Mr *Alexander*.

Besides these considerations, rising upon the conferring of the discourse, *Henderson's* deposition, and Mr *Patrick Galloway's* harangue, there were others grounded upon certain reports which follow.

When it was told the king after the Earl's home coming that he rode up the cawseway of *Edinburgh* with a great company of his friends, the king in a great anger said, there were many with his *father* when he was convoyed to the scaffold.

At the convention which was holden shortly after the Earl's home coming, the Earl leaning upon the back of the king's chair, while the king was at his breakfast, the king entered in conference with him upon dogs and hawks, indeed he asked him, what would make a woman part with child. The Earl answered sundry things, but especially, if a woman with child get a fray [fright]. Then the king after a scornful laughter said if that had been true, My Lord, I had not been sitting here, and so called to remembrance the slaughter of Signior *David* whereat his goodfire [grandfather] was a chief actor. When at the convention, he crossed the king's intention about the taxation, a courtier (Sir *David Murray* now Lord *Scone*) as is reported, said in the audience of sundrie, yonder is an unhappy man, they are but seeking occasion of his death, which now he has given.

When the King challenged the Earl for looking down upon Colonel *Stewart*, the man who apprehended his father who was executed at *Stirling*, he answered, Sir, I shall never seek him, but it is not seemly he should cross my teeth.

Dr *Harris* being offended at Mrs *Beatrix*, the Earl's sister of the Queen's Dames for laughing at his bowt foot, taketh her by the hand, looketh upon her loof, and said, Mistress, ere long, a great disaster shall befall you.

While the Earl was in *Strathban* fifteen days before the fall, the King wrote sundry letters to the Earl desiring him to come and hunt with him in the wood of *Falkland*, which letters were

ound in my Lord's pocket at his death, as is reported, but were destroyed. Two days before the slaughter, Mr *William Ruthven*, the Earl's brother was written for by the King to meet him at *Perth* upon the 5th of August. The Earl intended a journey to *Lothian* upon the 5th of August, of purpose to in-reat his mother to hold house with him; but was stayed by Mr *Alexanders* going to *Falkland*, waiting upon his returning, as so he was looked for in *Seaton* about the same time, to come to see her, who was after Countess of *Angus*, there being among them a purpose of match.

The Earl being at dinner, when he heard the King was coming, and at hand, said, What sorrow meaneth all this haste, and indeed was not well pleased with himself for the bad cheer was made, and excused himself to the King, that he looked not for him, till less than an hour before he came. The Earl his cloak was bound about him with strings when he went out to the Inch to meet the king, and sicklike when he encountered with Sir *Thomas Erskine* in time of the fray, and made him at first unweildy.

The Earl in time of the fray went up the quiet turnpike, not always condemned before as was alledged, because his brother *Alexander* was lying dead in it. None went up this stair with the Earl but only Mr *Thomas Cranston*, not seven or eight as is alledged in the discourse, and Mr *Patrick's* harangue. *Hugh Moncreif* and *Patrick Eviot*, went up after my Lord was slain, and were driven back by the King's servants, the Earl's officer of *Strathban*, named *Baron* drew a sword in the close but went not up the stair. Mr *Alexander Ruthven* of *Forgun* went not within the gate, because he had neither sword nor whinger, neither yet had he when he threw Sir *Thomas Erskine* to the ground with the violence of a buffet when he was in hands with the Earl. But when he understood that the Earl was slain, he came again and cried up. *Come down thou son of King David, thou hast slain an honestest man than thy self.* Yet many years after he got the King's peace, and died in peace, *George Craigengelt* lying ill at ease, came not till the deed was done. When he heard the noise, he rose and came to the close, and cried up with the rest of the town there convened, *Give us our Provost, or the King's green coat shall pay for it.*

It

It is reported that *Henderson* was eating an egg in the kitchen and when the fray raiseth, went into the town, and that his wife was heard to cry Blessed be God, my husband was not amongst them. *Andrew Ruthven*, and *George Dewar* the Earl's carter, neither had, nor drew weapons. Mr *Robert Oliphant* was not in *St Johnstoun* at the time. *Henry Younger* was in *Dundee*. The Earl's porter now serveth Lord *Scone*, and *Dugald* is his waiter.

When the *Master* was found dead, he had neither whinger nor dagger, and the rapier he had, was so rusted in the scabbard, that scarce two men could pull it out per force.

The stricker of the Earl is not well known, for Mr *Thomas Crauford* was betwixt *John Ramsay* and him, and one of the that viewed his body that night, perceived by the entry of the stroke or wound, that he was stricken behind his back.

The Laird of *Tullibardine* and a number of the surname *Murray*, were in *St Johnstoun* that day at a bridal of one named *George Murray*, whither of set purpose let the reader judge for the *Murrays* of *Strathern* of the house of *Tullibardine* and *Balvaird*, have gotten his offices; and lands lying in these parts divided among them. *Tullibardine* the sherriffship of *Perth*. *Mungo Murray* his brother the house of *Ruthven* and lands lying thereto. Sir *David Murray*, the house of *Balvaird*; the Abbey of *Scene*; and now is provost of *St Johnstoun*.

It is reported that *Tullibardine* coming to the close of the lodging, after the fact was committed, danced for joy, but his cause has he to dance at this hour.

When it could not be made out that ane called *Leslie*, another called *Gray*, a third called *Oliphant* was the armed man in the field, it was laid upon one called *Henry Younger* who was in *Dundee* when the fact was committed, and he was coming to *Falkland* to make his purgation to the King, a commission was given to *Baron Lindsay* or ane *Barclays* brother to apprehend him. The being on the fields with *Hary Bruce* now called *Colonel Bruce* the poor man seeing them, fled among the corn to hide himself. *Harry Bruce* finding him, thrust a rapier through him, and slew him, he was brought to the cross of *Falkland*. Then *Patrick Galloway* preaching before the King, said, thank God, Sir, the Traytor that should have slain you, could not be gotten.

ick, but he was gotten dead. But as soon as it was tried, and constantly reported that the man was at *Dundee* when the deed was done; it was laid upon *Andrew Henderson* the Earl of *Gowrie's* chamberlain, that he was the armed man that was in the study, and that he convoyed himself privily down the stair, after Sir *John Ramsay* had stricken Mr *Alexander*. But Sir *Thomas Skene* and Dr *Hugh Herries* came incontinent to the stair and spatched Mr *Alexander*, saw him not coming down the stair, out of the turnpike, or any other that we have yet heard off. Inavisable was he in that fray and tumult, as was not unknown to the King himself before, and if he had, a wonder it that the King did not ask his name, when he was with him above in the study. But they behoved to guess at sundry names, before they came to his. Mr *Patrick Galloway* well acquainted with him before, by reason of a pension which he paid to him, out of the Abbacy of *Scone*, doubled it after to him for service at this time, he pleaded for him against every man, that thought not to suffer death. Howbeit it stood to the King's credit, that he should make confession upon the scaffold. When it was told Mr *Patrick* that Mr *Robert Bruce* would not believe, unless *Andrew Henderson* were put to death and take upon his conscience at his death, that he was the alleged man in the study. Mr *Patrick* said to the King, Sir, nothing will satisfy a man, but the life of him, who saved your life, therefore, ye shall first hang *Andrew Henderson* for treason, and Mr *Robert Bruce* for not believing.

Upon Saturday the 23d of August, Mr *Thomas Cranstoun*, *George Craigengelt*, and *John Baron* officer of *Strathban* attended upon the Earl of *Gowrie* were hanged in *St Johnstoun* for drawing swords in time of the tumult, yet confessed they nothing which might smell of knowledge of any conspiracy. Mr *Thomas Cranstoun* brother to Sir *John Cranstoun* of that ilk, exhorted the people to forbear imprecations against themselves; he had now found by experience that they wanted not their effect; for he himself had used three kinds of imprecations, viz. God nor a sword go through me! I shall be tane for a Traytor! God, nor I be hanged! I have been taken said he a Traitor, but I thank God I am not one; I was stabbed through

through with a sword at this last tumult, and now I am to be hanged. He conceived a fervent prayer, and died.

All the ministers of Edinburgh, Robert Bruce only excepted, intimidated by the displeasure of the King and Court, and deprivation of their ministry, entered into the King's views, declared themselves satisfied with the King's account of the Conspiracy and were ordered to several kirks to publish their incantation, as a punishment of their incredulity. Galloway the King's chaplain was their intercessor, to whom they meanly applied. He was Bruce's determined enemy, and influenced the King against him. After all his endeavours from every quarter to find the two brothers Traitors, after hearing the Earl of Mar and Sir Thomas Erskine both his friends, Bruce remained unsatisfied; and declared that he could not with a safe conscience before God, affirm with his mouth what his heart did not approve. But, in his letter to the King about eight days before he left the kingdom, he says, 'Hearing that your Majesty was not
' thing relented of your former wrath against me, and being now
' upon the point to shew my obedience to your Majesties last
' charge, I could not omit this as my last duty, to intreat your
' Highness' clemency to mitigate the extremity of this wrath.
' I am not ignorant of that speech, that *the wrath of the Prince*
' *the messenger of death*; So that I crave that the Lord, for Christ
' sake, may add his blessing, and work effectually in your Majesty,
' as shall be expedient for his own glory, and your Majesty's
' perpetual preservation. Then, to be short, to show my conformity,
' with the rest of my bretheren, in the ministry, as at all times,
' so now, especially my reverence to your Majesty, and to clear my
' suspected affection herein, I offer to give to the Father of our Lord
' Jesus Christ, in him, and through him, my hearty thanks for all
' your deliverances from your cradle to this present hour, but mainly
' for that deliverance which was granted to your Majesty in *St Johnstoun*
' on Tuesday the 5th of August, far above all our deserts and your
' majesties expectations. I offer also to stir up the people to that
' same duty, and attour to divert the people so far as lies in me, from
' their leud opinions and uncharitable constructions anent your
' majesties and namely in this turn. Finally there is no duty your
' majesty can crave of me, without the manifest offence of God.

and hurt of my own conscience, but I will do it with as good a heart, as ever I did any thing in this earth. that if by any means, I might testify my good affection towards your Majesty my Sovereign, and enjoy my natural air, and such other comforts as the Lord hath given me, under your Majesties reign, which I most humbly crave of your Majesty, beseeching the Lord to move your heart herein for his Christ's sake, so awaiting for your Highness' answer, in all humility I take my leave.

Nothing would satisfy the King but a declaration that he was now satisfied, his doubts resolved, and a profession of his repentance after the manner of his bretheren, but he resolved to risk, and every thing dear to him, to keep a clear conscience, he went on board on the 4th, and arrived safe at Dieppe in France the 8th November.

I have given the most interesting passages in Calderwood's account of the Conspiracy, and have been the more copious, because the scene of this tragedy was in *Perth* and the remembrance of it, to this day, is handed down from Father to Son, and because I find that it never was generally believed that Gowrie and his brother had formed any plot against the King's life, which is the ground of the libel upon which they were condemned and forfeited.

But it is presumed; altho' the Earl had no design against the King's life that he had entered into concert with Queen Elizabeth and her ministry, to seize the person of James, and carry him to England to be under the direction of Elizabeth as the presumptive heir of the crown, in which enterprize he failed and fell.

Our ingenious and accurate historian Doctor Robertson seems to be of this opinion; he says that an English ship was observed hovering for some time, in the mouth of the Frith of *Forth*, at such a suspicion prevailed in that age; that the Earl of Gowrie was one of the most powerful of the Scots Nobles, and descended from ancestors warmly attached to the English interest; that he had adopted the same system, and believed the welfare of his country to be inseparably connected with the subsistence of the alliance between the two kingdoms. During his residence at Paris, he had contracted an intimate friendship with

Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's Ambassador there, and was recommended by him to his Court, as a person of whom great might be made; Elizabeth received him as he passed through England, with distinguished marks of respect and favour*.

These are plausible conjectures, which the friends of Gowrie are willing to adopt, who cannot be persuaded that the Earl or his brother had the least design against the King's life, especially as they have so respectable authority to support the

But, with due deference to our excellent historian, this scheme is pressed with some difficulties.

The young Earl had before his eyes the fatal consequences of his father's successful attempt in seizing the person of the King out of the hands of Arran, and the Popish noblemen whom the King loved. He lost his head on a scaffold, although powerfully supported in his enterprize by all the Protestant nobles.

Would his son, at the distance only of sixteen years, engage in a similar enterprize, without any accomplices to assist or support him?

Is it probable that Elizabeth assisted by the best statesmen of Britain, would have committed the execution of such a dangerous and difficult undertaking, to a youth, inexperienced in politics?

Would the Queen have endangered the life and fortune of a young nobleman, whom she so much esteemed?

Would Elizabeth suffer the presumptive heir of her crown to reside in England, and strengthen the Popish faction so devoted to him in both kingdoms?

To keep James to his good behaviour, it was her invariable maxim, never to declare her successor, and it was inconsistent with her plan, to have James in England.

If Gowrie designed to ship the King on board a vessel homeward bound in the Frith of Forth, why should he land him at Fast Castle, and not proceed directly to London, or some other port in England?

It was utterly inconsistent with Elizabeth's views, to deprive the King of his liberty by confining him in England, far less

* Robertson's history of Scotland, 8vo. V. 11. p. 265. 2d Edit. London 1761.

have any designs on his life; neither could Gowrie reap any benefit by either: he knew very well, that Arran was the cause of his father's death, and not the King. It was Elizabeth's interest to support the Protestant Nobles with their followers in Scotland, who, from the beginning of the reformation, had renounced all connections with France, and maintained a strict friendship with England, it was on this account that the Queen protected Gowrie's two brothers, William and Patrick, who, after their brothers murder, fled into England; and James, though he prudently concealed it, took great umbrage at her behaviour.

None of Elizabeth's intrigues in Scotland tended to hurt the King's person, but only to circumscribe his authority, and to thwart his schemes. His life was the surest safeguard of her crown, and restrained the Popish pretenders to her crown, and their abettors from desperate attempts, to which their impatience and bigotry, might otherwise have urged them on. To have encouraged Gowrie to murder his Sovereign, would on her part have been an act of the utmost imprudence*.

The house of Ruthven were zealous Protestants. Gowrie's great grandfather William was among the earliest leaders of the reformation A. D. 1544. when he opposed Cardinal Beton's measures. His son Patrick, (John's grandfather), was a leader in the public reformation at Perth A. D. 1559, and incurred the Queen Regent's highest displeasure. His father William the first Earl of Gowrie, opposed the Popish faction with all his power, and this, and not disaffection to his Sovereign, was the true cause of his untimely death. John trode in the same footsteps with his progenitors. The King knew that he was beloved by Elizabeth, and was the hope and expectation of all the Protestants in both kingdoms, whom the King never loved, and wanted capacity, with all his dissimulation, to cover his hatred. The civil and ecclesiastical liberties of the subject, were strenuously asserted by the Lords of the house of Ruthven; they opposed the arbitrary measures of his mother and grandmother, which he never forgave, and at last extirpated this noble house.

Our histories bear witness, with what severity he treated the reformers who crossed his arbitrary views, and with what meek-

* Dr Robertson's history of Scotland, V. II. p. 266. 8vo.

ness and lenity he carried towards the Papists, after he was warned again and again of the dangerous plots they were carrying on against his person and crown.

The ministers were convinced of his duplicity and hypocrisy notwithstanding a flaming speech he made in the General Assembly 1590. 'He stood up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, and said, he praised God, that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be King of such a church, the sincerest [purest] kirk in the world. The church of Geneva keep patche, and Yule [Easter and Christmas] what have they for them, they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, gentlemen and Barons. to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, for my sooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same.' and in his speech to the parliament 1598 he tells them, 'He minded not to bring in Papistical or Anglicane bishops *; and in 1602 he assured the General Assembly 'that he would stand for the church and be an advocate for the ministry †.' One would think by this that James had both regard and esteem for the clergy, and doubtless he intended they should think so. But this was mere artifice and dissimulation; at bottom he hated them heartily, and could not bear the thoughts of them. His real sentiments are to be seen under his own hand in his *basilica doron*, written for the instruction of his son Henry, a prince in every respect his superior. 'I protest before the great God, say he, and since I am here upon my testament, it is no place for me to lye in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or border thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries than with these fanatic spirits, and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land, if ye list to sit at rest ‡.' In his proclamation, &c. he tells us, 'He was ever an enemy to the confused anarchy or parity of the Puritans, as well appeareth

* Calderwood ad. an. 1590.

† Spotiswood ad an. 1603.

‡ King James's works folio, p. 160.—305.

his *Basilicon doron*,' and therefore adds he, 'I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face, *Bellarmino* could say that I was a Puritan in Scotland, and an enemy to Protestants: I that was persecuted by Puritans there, not from my birth only, but even since four months before my birth? I that in the year of God 1584, erected Bishops and depressed all their popular parity. I then not being 18 years of age' [this was the year in which William Earl of Gowrie was executed, and Arran committed the vilest acts of injustice] 'I that in my said book to my son, do speak ten times more bitterly of them, than of the Papists, having in my 2d edition thereof affixed a long apologetick preface, only in *odium puritanorum*.'

This was written in England when the King could speak his mind, and therefore we may be sure we have his real sentiments, especially as all his actions were correspondent unto them.

In 1592, when the three Popish Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol were convicted of a dangerous plot and conspiracy, in favour of the Infanta of Spain, and that same year Huntly, by the connivance of James had murdered the Earl of Murray, the heir of the Regent Murray, they were all after a slight imprisonment pardoned, taken into favour and into the King's council in 1602. This conduct serves to account for the severe treatment of the two Protestant Earls of Gowrie, father and

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

